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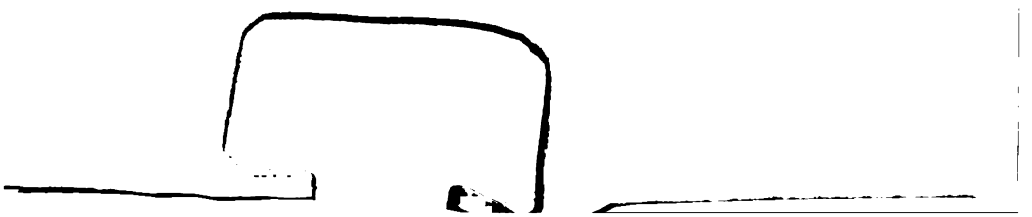
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THE ARTS IN EARLY ENGLAND

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PAUL JOSEPH SACHS



THE ARTS IN EARLY ENGLAND

Pl. C

Frontispiece to Vol. IV

COLOURED BEADS, ANGLO-SAXON AND FRANKISH



I



II

About $\frac{3}{4}$ natural size

II is Continental

THE ARTS
IN EARLY ENGLAND

By G. BALDWIN BROWN, M.A.
WATSON GORDON PROFESSOR OF FINE ART
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

* * * *

SAXON ART AND INDUSTRY IN THE PAGAN PERIOD

WITH EIGHT PLATES IN COLOUR, ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-EIGHT HALF-TONE PLATES, TWENTY-NINE LINE ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT, AND EIGHT MAPS

NEW YORK
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LIST OF ANGLO-SAXON CEMETERIES

IN the following List the cemeteries where cremation is established are underlined, as is the case also on Maps V, VI, VII, VIII. The broken line intimates that the evidence for cremation is not quite conclusive.

Abingdon, Berks, W. Saxon, 649. Aclam Wold, Yorks, Northumbrian, 805. Alfriston, Sussex, S. Saxon, 685; its discovery, 23. Ancaster, Lincs, Lindiswaras (?), 801. Arne Hill, Berks, W. Saxon, 651. Arreton Down, Isle of Wight, Jutish, 746. Arundel, Sussex, S. Saxon, 680. Ash, Kent, Jutish, 705. Ashendon, Bucks, W. Saxon, 637. Aston near Remingham, Berks, W. Saxon, 641. Avening, Gloster, W. Saxon, 653.

Badby, Northants, Mid-Anglian, 781. Barfriston, Kent, Jutish, 728. Barlaston, Stafford, Mercian, 771. Barrington, Cambs, Mid-Anglian, 785 and 788, Barton Seagrave, Northants, Mid-Anglian, 782. Basset Down, Wilts, W. Saxon, 655. Beakesbourne, Kent, Jutish, 719. Beddingham, Sussex, S. Saxon, 684. Beddington, Surrey, W. Saxon, 631. Beeby, Leicester, Mercian, 777. Bensford Bridge, see Cestersover. Benty Grange, Derby, Mercian, 772. Bidford, Warwick, W. Saxon, 668. Bifrons, Kent, Jutish, 716; typical, 192; its wealth in fibulae, 246; its character, 27, 192 f.; orientation, 168. Billesdon, Leicester, Mercian, 777. Birdoswald, Cumberland, Northumbrian, 811. Bishopsbourne, Kent, Jutish, 719. Bishopstone, Bucks, W. Saxon, 637. Bourne Park, Kent, Jutish, 720. Bowcombe Down, Isle of Wight, Jutish, 745. Branston, Stafford, Mercian, 771. Breach Down, Kent, Jutish, 723. Bricklehampton, Worcester, W. Saxon, 667. Brighthampton, Oxon, W. Saxon, 659; sword, etc., from, 223 f. Brighton, Sussex, S. Saxon, 682. Brixworth, Northants, Mid-Anglian, 781. Broadstairs, Kent, Jutish, 699; its discovery, 22; sceattas found at, 108; on a Bronze Age site, 132. Broad Town, Wilts, W. Saxon, 654. Brockbridge, Hants, Jutish, 745. Broomfield, Essex, E. Saxon, 601. Brough, Notts, Mercian, 768. Broughton Hill, Hants, W. Saxon, 619. Broughton Poggs, Oxon, W. Saxon, 661. Brushfield, Derby, Mercian, 772. Buchan, Aberdeenshire, 812 and 48. Buttsole, by Eastry, Kent, Jutish or ?, 707; account of, 203.

Caenby, Lincs, Lindiswaras, 801. Caistor, Lincs, Lindiswaras, 800. Cambridge, Mid-Anglian, 785 and 787. Candlesby, Lincs, Lindiswaras, 801. Canterbury, Kent, St. Martin's Churchyard, 119. Carvoran, Northumberland, Northumbrian, 811. Castle Acre, Norfolk, E. Anglian, 793 and 794. Castle Eden, Durham, Northumbrian, 810. Castle Hill, Notts, Mercian, 768. Cestersover, Warwick, Mercian, 774. Chalton, Beds, W. Saxon, 636. Charford, Wilts, W. Saxon, 656. Chartham Down, Kent, Jutish, 728. Chatham Lines, Kent, Jutish, 738. Chesterford, Essex, E. Saxon, 788. Chessell Down, Isle of Wight, Jutish, 746.

Cliffe at Hoo, Kent, W. Saxon (?), 629. Colchester, Essex, E. Saxon, 599. Cookham, Berks, W. Saxon, 642. Coombe, near Sandwich, Kent, Jutish, 707. Corbridge, Northumberland, Northumbrian, 811 f. Cote, Oxon, W. Saxon, 658. Cotgrave, Notts, Mercian, 768 f. Cow Lowe, Derby, Mercian, 773. Cransley, Northants, Mid-Anglian, 782. Cranford, Northants, Mid-Anglian, 782. Croydon, Surrey, W. Saxon, 631. Crundale, Kent, Jutish, 730. Cuddesdon, Oxon, W. Saxon, 658.

Darlington, Durham, Northumbrian, 810. Desborough, Northants, Mid-Anglian, 782. Dinton, Bucks, W. Saxon, 637. Dorchester-on-Thames, Oxon, W. Saxon, 647. Dover, Kent, Jutish, 709. Dovercourt, Essex, E. Saxon, 603. Driffield, Yorks, Northumbrian, 806. Droxford, Hants, Jutish, 744; swords at, 703, 745. Ducklington, Oxon, W. Saxon, 658. Durham, Northumbrian, 810 f. Duston, Northants, Mid-Anglian, 782.

Ely, Cambs, E. Anglian, 785. East Boldon, Durham, Northumbrian, 810. Eastbourne, Sussex, S. Saxon, 684. East Shefford, Berks, W. Saxon, 649. Eastry, Kent, Jutish, 707; see also 'Buttsole.' Exning, Suffolk, E. Anglian, 791. Eye, Suffolk, E. Anglian, 795.

Fairford, Gloster, W. Saxon, 662; its historical importance, 52 f. Fakenham, Suffolk, E. Anglian, 795. Farndish, Beds, Mid-Anglian, 783. Farthingdown, Surrey, W. Saxon, 633. Faversham, Kent, Jutish, 733. Feering, Essex, E. Saxon, 599. Filkins, Oxon, W. Saxon, 662. Firle, Sussex, S. Saxon, 684. Flixborough, Lincs, Mercian (?), 768. Folkestone, Kent, Jutish, 709; site, 142. Forest Gate, Essex, E. Saxon, 603. Forsbrook, Stafford, Mercian, 773. Frilford, Berks, W. Saxon, 648; continuity in use of, 133 f.

Galley Lowe, Derby, Mercian, 772. Garrowby Wold, Yorks, Northumbrian, 805. Gilton, Kent, Jutish, 705. Girton, Cambs, Mid-Anglian, 785. Glen Parva, Leicester, Mercian, 776. Glynde, Sussex, S. Saxon, 683. Goldston-under-Ash, Kent, Jutish, 705. Great Addington, Northants, Mid-Anglian, 781. Greenwich, Kent, W. Saxon, 629.

Hackbridge, Surrey, W. Saxon, 632. Hargham, see Shropham. Harnham Hill, Wilts, W. Saxon, 619; its relation to Old Sarum, 52; site, 144. Haslingfield, Cambs, Mid-Anglian, 785 and 787. Hassocks, Sussex, S. Saxon, 682 and 678. Hauxton, Cambs, Mid-Anglian, 785. Hawnby, Yorks, Northumbrian, 809. Heworth, Yorks, Northumbrian, 802. Higham, Kent, W. Saxon, 629. High Dyke, see Welbourn. High Down, Sussex, S. Saxon, 680; site, 142. Holdenby, Northants, Mid-Anglian, 781. Holkham, Norfolk, E. Anglian, 792. Hollingbourne, Kent, Jutish, 741. Holme Pierrepont, Notts, Mercian, 768. Hornsea, Yorks, Northumbrian, 803. Hornton, Oxon, W. Saxon, 658. Horton Kirby, Kent, W. Saxon, 629. Hoxne, Suffolk, E. Anglian, 175. Hunstanton, Norfolk, E. Anglian, 792.

Icklingham, Suffolk, E. Anglian, 791. Ingarsby, Leicester, Mercian, 777. Ipswich, Suffolk, E. Anglian, 790. Islip, Oxon, W. Saxon, 658. Islip, Northants, Mid-Anglian, 782.

Kelvedon, Essex, E. Saxon, 599. Kemble, Wilts, W. Saxon, 665. Kempston, Beds, Mid-Anglian, 784; orientation, 166; account of it, 192. Kenninghall, Norfolk, E. Anglian, 792. Kettering, Northants, Mid-Anglian, 782. Kidlington, Oxon, W. Saxon, 657. Kilham, Yorks, Northumbrian, 806 f. Kingsey, Bucks, W. Saxon, 638. King's Field, see Faversham. King's Newton, Derby, Mercian, 770. King's Play Down, Wilts, W. Saxon, 654. Kingston, Kent, Jutish, 720; its extent, 130. Kingston, Sussex, see Lewes. Kingston-on-Soar, Notts, Mercian, 770. Kirton-in-Lindsey, Lincs, Lindiswaras, 800.

Lackford, Suffolk, E. Anglian, 791. Lakenheath, Suffolk, E. Anglian, 791 and 795. Leagrave, Beds, W. Saxon, 636. Leicester, Mercian, 776. Leighton Buzzard, Beds, Mid-Anglian (?), 636 and 784. Lewes, Sussex, S. Saxon, 682. Little Hampton, Worcester, W. Saxon, 667. Little Wilbraham, Cambs, Mid-Anglian, 785. Linton Heath, Cambs, Mid-Anglian, 785 and 787. Lockinge Park, Berks, W. Saxon, 651. Loddington, Northants, Mid-Anglian, 782. Londesborough, Yorks, Northumbrian, 804. London, Middlesex, W. Saxon, 611; as E. Saxon, 603 f.; in Danish period, 630. Longbridge Park, Warwick, W. Saxon, 668. Long Wittenham, Berks, W. Saxon, 644 f.; Christian object found at, 115. Lowesby, Leicester, Mercian, 777. Lyminge, Kent, Jutish, 711. Lymne, Kent, Jutish, 712.

Maidenhead, Berks, W. Saxon, 641. Maidstone, Kent, Jutish, 741. Malling Hill, Sussex, S. Saxon, 683. Market Overton, Rutland, Mid-Anglian (?), 778. Markshall, Norfolk, E. Anglian, 794. Marston St. Lawrence, Northants, Mid-Anglian, 780. Marton, Warwick, Mercian, 775. Melton Mowbray, Leicester, Mercian, 776 f. Mentmore, Bucks, W. Saxon, 637. Mildenhall, Suffolk, E. Anglian, 791. Mildenhall, Wilts, W. Saxon, 656. Milton-next-Sittingbourne, Kent, Jutish, 738. Minster Lovel, Oxon, W. Saxon, 658. Mitcham, Surrey, W. Saxon, 632. Mount, The, York, Northumbrian, 802.

Nether Wallop, Hants, W. Saxon, 656. Newark, Notts, Mercian, 768 f. Newnham, near Daventry, Northants, Mid-Anglian, 780. Newport Pagnell, Bucks, W. Saxon, 636 f. Northampton, Mid-Anglian, 782. North Elmham, Norfolk, E. Anglian, 795. Northfleet, Kent, W. Saxon, 627. North Luffenham, Rutland, Mid-Anglian, 778. Norton-by-Bredon, Worcester, W. Saxon, 667. Norton, Northants, Mid-Anglian, 781.

Oddington, Gloster, W. Saxon, 658. Offchurch, Warwick, W. Saxon, 669. Ogbourne St. Andrew, Wilts, W. Saxon, 654. Orwell, Cambs, Mid-Anglian, 785. Oving, Bucks, W. Saxon, 637. Oxford, Oxon, W. Saxon, 658. Oxton, Notts, Mercian (?), 774. Ozengell, Kent, Jutish, 700; coins found at, 109.

Painsthorpe Wold, Yorks, Northumbrian, 805. Pensthorpe, Norfolk, E. Anglian, 794. Peterborough, Northants, Gyrwas (?), 783. Pitsford, Northants, Mid-Anglian, 781. Portslade, Sussex, S. Saxon, 682. Princethorpe, Warwick, Mercian, 669. Purley, Surrey, W. Saxon, 631.

Quarrington, Lincs, Gyrwas (?), 801. Queniborough, Leicester, Mercian, 777.

Ragley Park, Warwick, W. Saxon, 668. Ramsgate, Kent, Jutish, 699. Reading, Berks, W. Saxon, 642; late use of cemetery, 118. Reculver, Kent, Jutish, 709. Redbourne, Herts, W. Saxon, discovery in XII, 121. Redgrave, Suffolk, E. Anglian, 795. Richborough, Kent, Jutish, 705. Ringmer, see Glynde. Ringwold, Kent, Jutish, 708. Rochester, Kent, Jutish, 741. Rodmead Down, Wilts, W. Saxon, 656. Rothley Temple, Leicester, Mercian, 776. Roundway Down, Wilts, W. Saxon, 657. Rudston, Yorks, Northumbrian, 806 f.

Saffron Walden, Essex, E. Saxon, 600; late finds in, 171 f. Salisbury, Wilts, W. Saxon, 656. Salisbury Race Course, Wilts, W. Saxon, 656. Saltburn-on-Sea, Yorks, Northumbrian, 808. Sancton, Yorks, Northumbrian, 803. Sandy, Beds, Mid-Anglian, 636 and 784. Sarre, Kent, Jutish, 701; coins found at, 109; swords at, 208, 703. Saxby, Leicester, Mercian, 776 f. Saxonbury, see Lewes. Seamer, Yorks, Northumbrian, 809. Searby, Lincs, Lindiswaras, 799. Sedgeford, Norfolk, E. Anglian, 794. Shefford, Beds, Mid-Anglian, 636. Shepperton, Middlesex, W. Saxon, 634. Shoeburyness, Essex, East Saxon, 600. Shrewton, Wilts, W. Saxon, 657. Shropham, Hargham, etc., Norfolk, E. Anglian, 794. Sibertswold, Kent, Jutish, 725. Sittingbourne, Kent, Jutish, 737. Sleaford, Lincs, Gyrwas(?), 796 f.; its extent, 130; position of bodies, 154; orientation, 167 f. Snape, Suffolk, E. Anglian, 795, and 590. Soberton, Hants, Jutish, 745. Soham, Cambs, E. Anglian, 785. Souldern, Oxon, W. Saxon, 658. Sporle, Norfolk, E. Anglian, 792. Stamford, Northants, Mid-Anglian, 779. Standlake, Oxon, W. Saxon, 659. Stand Lowe, Derby, Mercian, 772. Stanton Harcourt, Oxon, W. Saxon, 658. Stapenhill, Stafford, Mercian, 770. Stapleford Park, Leicester, Mercian, 777. Steep Lowe, Stafford, Mercian, 772. Stodmarsh, Kent, Jutish, 716. Stone, Bucks, W. Saxon, 637. Stowting, Kent, Jutish, 712; plural burial, 158, 167. Strood, Kent, Jutish, 741; Christian object found at, 115. Summertown, Oxon, W. Saxon, 658. Sysonby, Leicester, Mercian, 777.

Taplow, Bucks, W. Saxon, 638. Teynham, Kent, Jutish, 737. Toddington, Beds, W. Saxon, 636 and 784. Toyd, Wilts, W. Saxon, 656. Tuddenham, Suffolk, E. Anglian, 791. Tugby, Leicester, Mercian, 777. Tuxford, Notts, Mercian (?), 774. Twickenham, Middlesex, W. Saxon, 633. Twyford, Leicester, Mercian, 777.

Uncleby, Yorks, Northumbrian, 805. Upchurch, Kent, Jutish, 738. Upper Heyford, Oxon, W. Saxon, 658. Upton Snodsbury, Worcester, W. Saxon, 667.

Wallington, Surrey, W. Saxon, 631. Walmer, Kent, Jutish, 708. Walsingham, Norfolk, E. Anglian, 794. Walton, Derby, Mercian, 771. Wangford, Suffolk, 105. Warren Hill, Suffolk, E. Anglian, 791. Warwick, W. Saxon, 669. Welbourn, Lincs, Lindiswaras, 800. West Stow Heath, Suffolk, E. Anglian, 791. Wheathampstead, Herts, W. Saxon, 635. Wheatley, Oxon, W. Saxon, 658. Whitehill, Northumberland, Northumbrian, 811. White Horse Hill, Berks, W. Saxon, 651. White Lowe, Derby, Mercian, 773. Wibtoft, Warwick, Mercian, 776. Wickhambreux, Kent, Jutish, 716. Wigston Magna, Leicester, Mercian, 776. Wolds, The Yorkshire, Northumbrian, 804 f.; 134, 144. Willingdon,

Sussex, S. Saxon, 684. Wilton, Wilts, W. Saxon, 656. Windsor, Berks, W. Saxon, 642. Winchester, Hants, W. Saxon, 619. Wing, Bucks, W. Saxon, 637. Wingham, Kent, Jutish, 716. Winklebury Hill, Wilts, W. Saxon, 654. Witham, Essex, E. Saxon, 603. Witney, etc., Oxon, W. Saxon, 658. Womersley, Yorks, Northumbrian, 809. Wood Eaton, Oxon, W. Saxon, 658. Woodford, Northants, Mid-Anglian, 782. Woodnesborough, Kent, Jutish, 707. Wood Perry, Oxon, W. Saxon, 658. Woodstone, Hunts, Gyrwas (?), 782. Woodyates Inn, Dorset, W. Saxon, 655. Wyaston, Derby, Mercian, 772. Wychnor, Stafford, Mercian, 771. Wye, Kent, Jutish, 730.

Yarnton, Oxon, W. Saxon, 658. Yelford, Oxon, W. Saxon, 658. York, Northumbrian, 809.

CHAPTER VIII

TOMB FURNITURE: (V) ADJUNCTS OF THE COSTUME; MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS; HORSE TRAPPINGS; PERSONAL ORNAMENTS—NECKLETS

ADJUNCTS OF THE COSTUME

CONNECTED WITH the coiffure are certain domestic implements, a notice of which may be introduced here as they are associated with the toilet if not with the actual vesture. Among these may be enumerated the comb, the shears, and the tweezers, and with the last again may be coupled sundry other little toilet articles that are often strung with the tweezers on a ring.

This characteristic of being suspended from a ring, probably from the belt, belongs to sundry other objects of personal or domestic use which may be considered in this place together with certain appliances used to hold them or to facilitate their suspension. All these objects are commonly found in the graves near the middle of the body, which points to their connection with the girdle. The appliances for suspension are generally called 'girdle hangers,' the pendent objects are keys, spoons, crystal balls, workboxes, and perhaps charms, while small boxes or pouches may have held articles such as coins that were not strung for suspension singly. A considerable number of objects are in this way brought into connection as attached to the dress in readiness for personal use, and to a brief discussion of these we must now proceed.

The habit of wearing the hair long made the use of combs necessary for men as well as for women, and the objects are of very frequent occurrence with male and female burials, in forms that seem to have been taken over from the Romans.

They are generally of bone, and are ornamented as were Roman combs with incised lines and with the concentric circles already illustrated (p. 293). The object continues also in favour in the later Anglo-Saxon period, and combs in various forms are characteristic of the Danish epoch, so well represented at York by finds in the Museum of the York Philosophical Society, and also at the Guildhall Museum, London. The latest of the Anglo-Saxon combs is that found in the coffin of St. Cuthbert at Durham and preserved in the Library there. It can be dated with fair certainty at about 1020 A.D., and will be noticed in a succeeding volume.

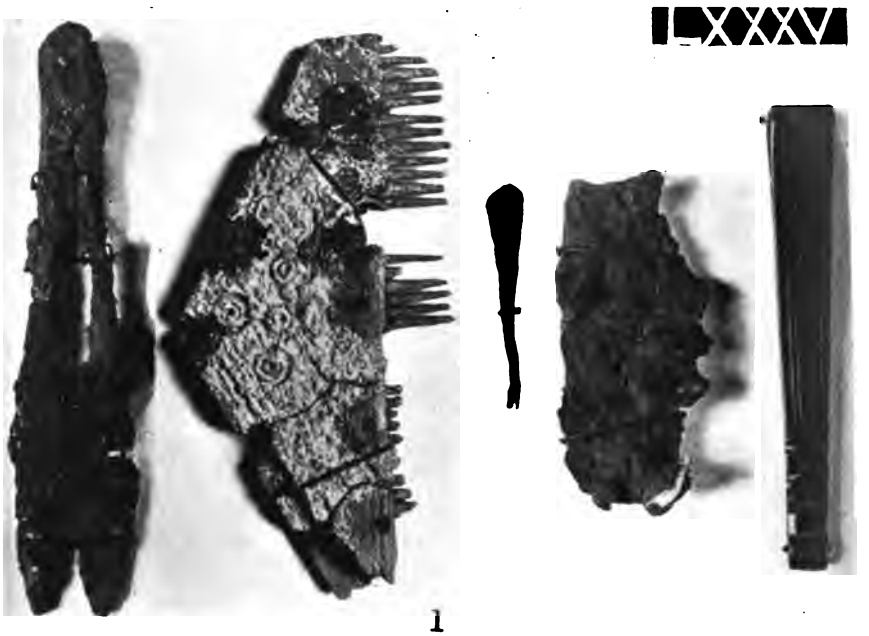
Combs are illustrated on Pll. LXXXIV to LXXXVII. The example Pl. LXXXIV, 4, $4\frac{5}{8}$ in. long, was probably found in London, though this is not quite certain, and is now in the Guildhall Museum; it has one row of teeth and a bar that is continued at one end to serve as a handle. This form of comb was noticed in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries, XII, 115, in connection with a similar example from Bedford. If the specimen shown was found in London it would be almost certainly of the Danish period, but it may be noticed that a very similar piece[1] was found at Flonheim in the Rhineland, where the fine early sword hilt now at Worms was also discovered, and this would make the form possible at a much earlier date.

The combs on Pll. LXXXV to VII are of the more usual forms. That from Arreton Down in the Isle of Wight at Carisbrooke Castle, Pl. LXXXV, 3, though fragmentary, shows two rows of teeth, coarse and fine, one on each side of the bar. Such a comb might be carried in a sheath and Pl. LXXXV, 2, in the Museum at Brussels, is illustrated as it shows one of the most perfect existing examples of the complete arrangement. There is a sheath for each set of teeth and the sheaths are hinged at one end while a catch at the other end holds them together when closed. Other examples, such as those on Pl. LXXXVI,

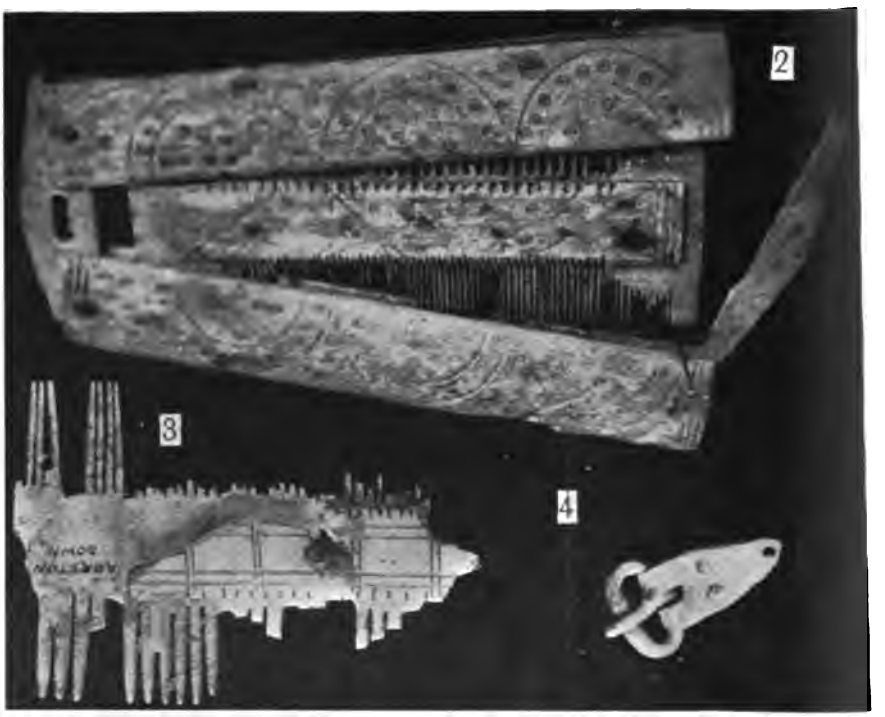
[1] Figured in Barrière-Flavy, *Arts Industriels*, etc., pl. LXX, 4.

facing p. 391

OBJECTS FROM CINERARY URNS, COMBS, ETC.



1

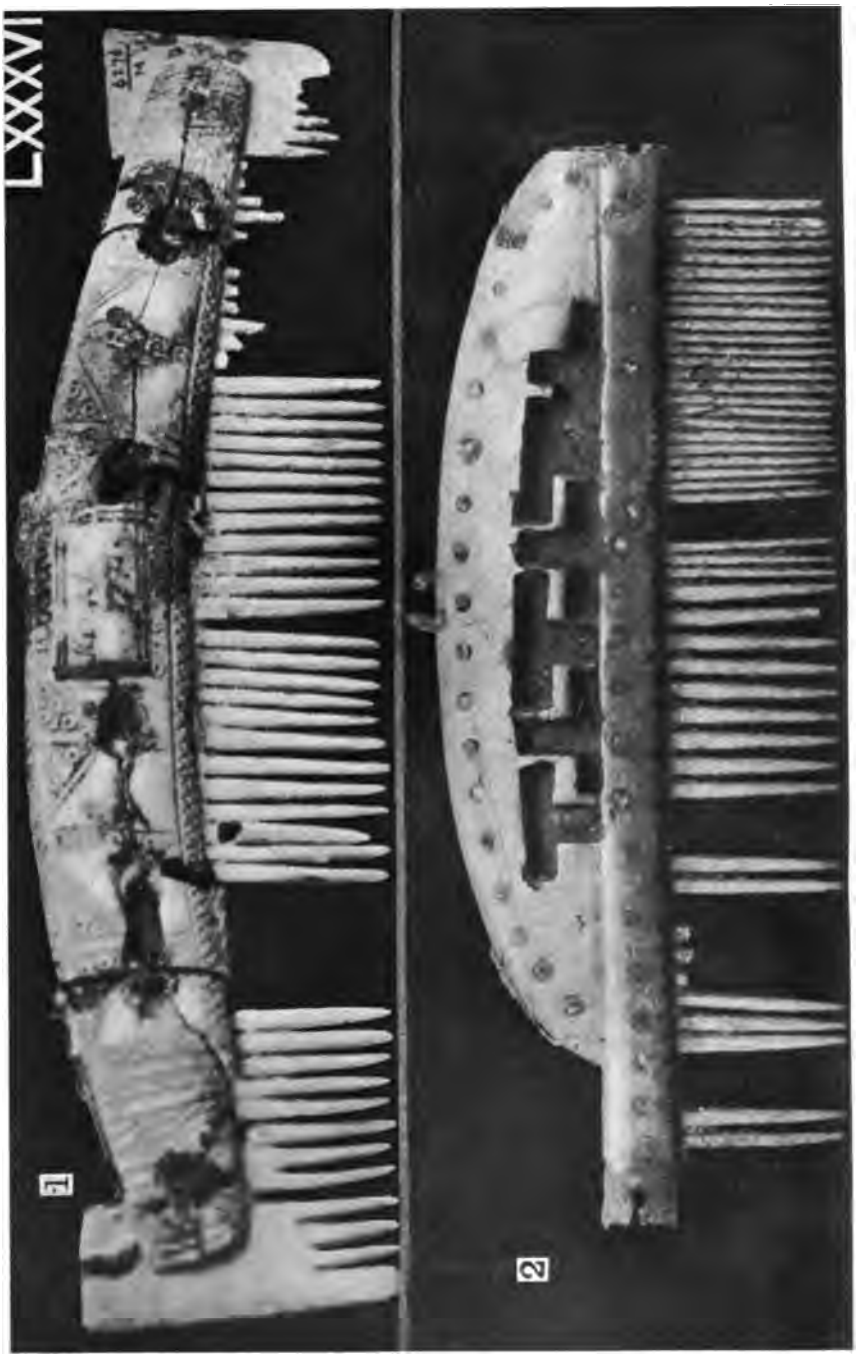


2 is Continental

LXXXVI

Facing p. 391

ANGLO-SAXON COMBS



Both objects natural size

TOILET OBJECTS, ETC.



All the objects are natural size

6 is Continental

represented their natural size, have teeth on one side only and an ornamental back by which the object would be held. No. 1, 7 in. long, is a very fine example in bone—Faussett said ivory—that was found in one of the most richly furnished graves opened by Faussett at Kingston in Kent, grave No. 142, and is now in the Museum at Liverpool. No. 2 was found in Northampton and is ornamented on the back with 'T' shaped sinkings of the same shape as those on the pierced buckle plates shown Pl. LXXII, 3, 6 (p. 351). Here the coarse and fine teeth are arranged as in a modern comb. The two holes at the ends of the bar of the comb indicate the attachment of a sheath that protected the row of teeth.

A back that rises in the centre in a pyramidal form and is ornamented with projecting heads of animals might be early, for it resembles Roman examples. Such a comb was found at the early cemetery at Furfooz in Belgium, and is compared by M. Bequet with Belgo-Roman specimens.[1] The Victoria and Albert Museum contains an Anglo-Saxon comb of the same form shown Pl. LXXXVII, 1. This pretty little specimen, $2\frac{5}{8}$ in. long, represented the natural size, was found in London[2] and must belong to the Danish period. Another pyramidal-backed comb but without the heads is shown Pl. LXXXV, 1. It was in a cinerary urn said to have been found near Malton, Yorks, and is now in the York Museum. The date naturally suggested is an early one, though cremation must not be taken as an infallible criterion (p. 147). It is clear that the dating of these combs from the point of view of their style and ornamentation is a matter of much difficulty, for they have a long history and vary comparatively little in the course of it.

Next to the comb may be noticed the shears. These are of the familiar form of the sheep-shearing implement of the present day, and measure from about 8 in. in length, e.g.

[1] *Annales de la Société Archéologique de Namur*, XIV, 399 f.

[2] *Victoria History*, London, I, 164.

at Barrington, Cambs,[1] to a minute size on the scale of a doll's house. About these last a word will presently be said. Pl. LXXXVII, 3, shows a well preserved pair. The larger ones are always of iron and are often rusted into a somewhat shapeless mass. Scissors of the modern form do occur in Roman times and in the migration period, but are of the greatest rarity.

Tweezers, almost always of bronze, are a very common but rather a puzzling accompaniment of burials both of men and of women. Pll. LXXXV, 1; LXXXVII, 4, 5, give some specimens, of which the pair No. 4, found recently at Broadstairs, 3 in. long, is well finished and in fine preservation. These small objects are often ornamented by faceting, a technique especially Roman, and taken over from this source by the Teutonic craftsman. The specimen Pl. LXXXV, 1, was found in one of the numerous cinerary urns discovered at Heworth, just outside York, and for this reason is probably of early date. The faceting here is very sharp and workmanlike. The orthodox explanation of the little implement is that it was used for depilation, and a story that makes this plausible is told of Theodoric, King of the Visigoths—not the Ostrogothic lord of Ravenna—how that he underwent at frequent intervals at the hand of his barber the delectable experience of having superfluous hairs evulsed from his nostrils. More recently other suggested uses for the pincers have been more favoured by archaeologists, such as the extraction of thorns from the foot, or even the pulling through of the needle in primitive operations of sewing when there was no thimble available.[2] One consideration that makes for the older view is the association

[1] *Collectanea Antiqua*, VI, 157.

[2] At a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, reported in its *Proceedings*, XXIII, 277, it was stated that Colonel Rivett-Carnac, F.S.A., had given the information that in the provinces of Kumaon and Garhwal, on the Thibetan border, the Himalayan mountaineers carry not only a flint and steel but also three small toilet implements attached to a chain, a pair of pincers for extracting thorns, a spoon-shaped implement for the ears, and a small toothpick.

of the comb with the tweezers as objects placed with the fragments of bone in cinerary urns. Combs or fragments of them are more often found in these receptacles than any other article, and the tweezers are also of common occurrence. The cinerary urns in which the Museum of York is so rich contained, as we have just seen, these objects, and Pl. LXXXV, 1 shows, besides the comb and pair of tweezers, a pricker, a strike-a-light, and a small pair of shears that made their appearance in this way among the human ashes.

The tweezers, that must at any rate have been intended for intimate personal use, are very often associated with other small implements of the same character which are found at times pendent from a ring. Pl. LXXXVII, 2, shows a little bunch of the kind consisting in a 'cure-oreille' and two stiletto-like objects. We may add in thought to these a pair of tweezers like Pl. LXXXVII, 4 or 5, where it is strung on a ring, and also No. 9, an instrument perhaps connected with the 'toilette des ongles.'

There are curious discoveries in the shape of objects of these kinds on a minute scale so that they suggest toys. Pl. LXXXVII, 6, 7, 8, show a selection of these reproduced the natural size. These little objects, insignificant as they are, are of some archaeological importance as they occur frequently in those regions of northern Germany where we find tomb furniture so closely resembling our own. The Museums at Hamburg, Geestemünde, Hanover, etc., contain specimens that are the prototypes of those found at Castle Acre, Londesborough, and other sites in our own country. Pl. LXXXVII, 6, shows specimens in the Hamburg Museum. The shears are $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. long, and Dr. Byham their custodian thinks that, like the companion implements the tweezers and knife, they are not toys, but were used by ladies for fine needlework. They are of course of bronze. There are still smaller specimens in the museums of the district. We are naturally reminded here of the minute axe heads noticed and illustrated in an earlier

part of this survey (p. 232) and Pl. XXIX, 8. Pl. LXXXVII, 7 gives on the true scale a set found at Londesborough, Yorkshire, and now in the Museum at Hull. They are smaller than the Hamburg suite but the resemblance between the two sets is remarkable, and must be remembered when we come to sum up on a later page the monumental evidence connecting invaders of our own country with the regions about the lower course of the Elbe. No. 8 reproduces, also of the natural size, one or two similar minute implements from Castle Acre and other sites in Norfolk, and a minute pair of bronze tweezers was found in a cremation urn at Long Wittenham, Berks.

The above-mentioned objects by no means exhaust the archaeological interest of the parts of the grave adjacent to the waist of its skeleton occupant. Other personal possessions have appended to them rings for attachment, and have been found in such a position as to make it probable that they were suspended from the belt, while there are objects also that have no such appendages and yet must have been carried on the person. Four things possess an accidental importance due to the fact that they have been confused two and two with each other. They are 'keys,' 'girdle hangers,' 'strike-a-lights' and 'purse mounts,' according to the accepted nomenclature which may however require correction. Between the 'key' and the 'girdle hanger' there exists an accidental likeness and the same is the case with the other two, so that there has been considerable confusion regarding them. Pll. LXXXVIII, LXXXIX illustrate the subject of the 'key,' Pll. LXXXIX, XC that of the 'girdle hanger,' while half a dozen other Plates, XCI to XCVII, are required to give specimens of the various personal possessions referred to three or four sentences ago.

The objects shown Pl. LXXXVIII and Pl. LXXXIX, 1, are called 'keys,' those Pll. LXXXIX, 2; XC, 1 to 4 'girdle hangers'; how far is this nomenclature justified?[1] What presents itself in

[1] Some facts relating to the distribution of the objects are given subsequently (p. 398).

LXXXVIII

facing p. 395

KEYS, ROMAN, CONTINENTAL AND ANGLO-SAXON



2, 4, are Continental

each case is a metal bar from 3 in. to as much as 7 in. long, with a loop at one end by which it might be strung on a ring, while the other end is either turned at right angles to the bar or else worked into a T shaped cross piece or spread out into other forms. The pieces differ, firstly, in that the 'key' occurs singly, the 'girdle hanger' most commonly in pairs which would not be the case with keys; secondly, in their shapes, for while the 'key' is always of a form suitable for lifting a lock, the 'girdle hanger,' as for example Pl. xc, 1, 2, 4, is sometimes ill-adapted for such employment; thirdly, through the appearance on the flat face of the bronze 'girdle hanger' of incised or stamped ornament of the same kind as that upon the bar, a thing quite unlikely in the case of a key—see for examples Pl. xc, 1, 2, 4, where Nos. 1 and 4 have pierced eyes on the flat part unintelligible if they were keys; fourthly, in the fact that the 'key' is commonly of iron, though sometimes of bronze, while the 'girdle hanger' is almost always of the latter metal, and this agrees with the fact that a key is a necessary object of use that would normally be cheap and strong, while the other is a piece of personal decoration though also a thing of use, and in connection with this there must be considered the thickness of the metal bar, which in the case of many of the flat bronze 'girdle hangers' such as Pl. LXXXIX, 2, seems too thin to resist the leverage in lifting a substantial bolt.

It must be understood of course that the sort of lock to be held in view is a door lock into which the key is inserted in a horizontal position through a slit, to be then lifted so as to raise a latch or bolt, no turning movement as in the case of our ordinary keys being contemplated. For the purpose indicated the implements, Pll. LXXXVIII, 3, 5; LXXXIX, 1, are quite suited and they resemble in principle the keys of area gates familiar to Scottish housewives. The facts that implements of the same form occur on Roman sites, as for example Pl. LXXXVIII, 1, from the Roman villa at Hartlip,

Kent; are found in the Teutonic cemeteries of northern Germany, Pl. LXXXVIII, 4; and are familiar in Scandinavia in the migration and in the Viking ages, Pl. LXXXVIII, 2, from the Museum at Copenhagen, can be easily explained if the implement be really, as seems almost certain, a key such as would be used to fasten and unlock the door of a house or of a store-room. The Roman keys are noticed by Roach Smith.[1] The late-migration or early-Viking age keys Pl. LXXXVIII, 2, were found in women's graves on Bornholm.[2] Some of them have been compared to the modern picklocks. They are always in the North a part of a woman's equipment, and Professor Montelius[3] aptly quotes from the Edda the passage about Thor disguising himself in Freya's female attire, when 'she reached to him the ring, with the clinking keys.' Such rings are seen in the illustration, Pl. LXXXVIII, 2, 4. The discovery has more than once been made in England of an iron key of this form within the hand of a female skeleton, and a very striking instance of this is to be seen in the Museum at Folkestone, in the case of the skeleton of the Jutish lady shown previously Pl. XII and Pl. XV, 2 (p. 157). An iron key, 5 in. long, lies under the fingers of the right hand, as is seen in the photograph Pl. LXXXVIII, 5. There is no other object but a key that would seem to fit the situation. Pl. LXXXVIII, 3, is a foreshortened view of a large iron key, 7½ in. long, from the cemetery at Saxby, Leicestershire, in the Midland Institute, Derby. It has it will be seen the same form as the middle key in the set of three Roman ones, Pl. LXXXVIII, 1.

On Pl. LXXXIX, No. 1 shows a set of three bronze keys strung on a circlet of wire that is itself suspended from the ring of an annular brooch on which remains of the iron pin

[1] *Collectanea Antiqua*, II, 1 f., and pll. V to VII.

[2] *Führer durch die Dänishe Sammlung*, Kopenhagen, National Museum, no. 269.

[3] *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 285.

facing p. 397

BRONZE KEYS AND GIRDLE HANGERS



1, 2, about natural size

XC

facing p. 397

GIRDLE HANGERS



3, natural size; the rest somewhat reduced

survive. The objects were found in the early cemetery at Ozengell in the Isle of Thanet, Kent, and have often been figured.[1] They are represented here the natural size, the longest measuring just 4 in. They are very neatly finished and are about the best of the various bronze keys, which have been found, though rarely, in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. There is one at Maidstone from Buttsole near Eastry, Kent.

On the Plate, below the Ozengell keys is a pair of objects, of which one is broken off short, found at Stapenhill, Staffordshire, and now at Burton-on-Trent. The length of the whole one is $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. and it is shown about the natural size. Taken by itself it might be regarded as a key, but it is a specimen of a fairly large class of similar objects very commonly found in pairs that are discovered in cemeteries near the waist of skeletons. As a fact this very one may be seen on Pl. XVIII, 3 (p. 177), which presents a view of the skeleton of the lady who bore it with its fellow at her girdle. Other pairs of the kind are given on Pl. XC, and of these No. 2 is the most instructive as the two pieces are joined together by a bow, to the two ends of which they are attached by pins which would allow them to swing backwards or forwards. The suite was found at Searby in Lincolnshire and is in the British Museum. The extreme length of the whole piece is 6 in. It was accompanied in the grave by a round headed radiating fibula ending in a horse's head foot of a kind dated generally in the latter part of V, and also by a pin with the movable plates (Klapperschmuck) mentioned previously (p. 369). This is important as showing that the 'girdle hanger' is an object of early date.

Another pair from Londesborough, Yorks, 5 in. long and shown somewhat reduced, Pl. XC, 4, is at Hull, and though the bow which united the pieces is broken the two parts of it

[1] e.g. by Charles Roach Smith in *Coll. Ant.*, III, 1 f., and by Thomas Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, 3rd ed. Lond. 1875, p. 490, in both of which places there is a discussion of the key and girdle hanger question.

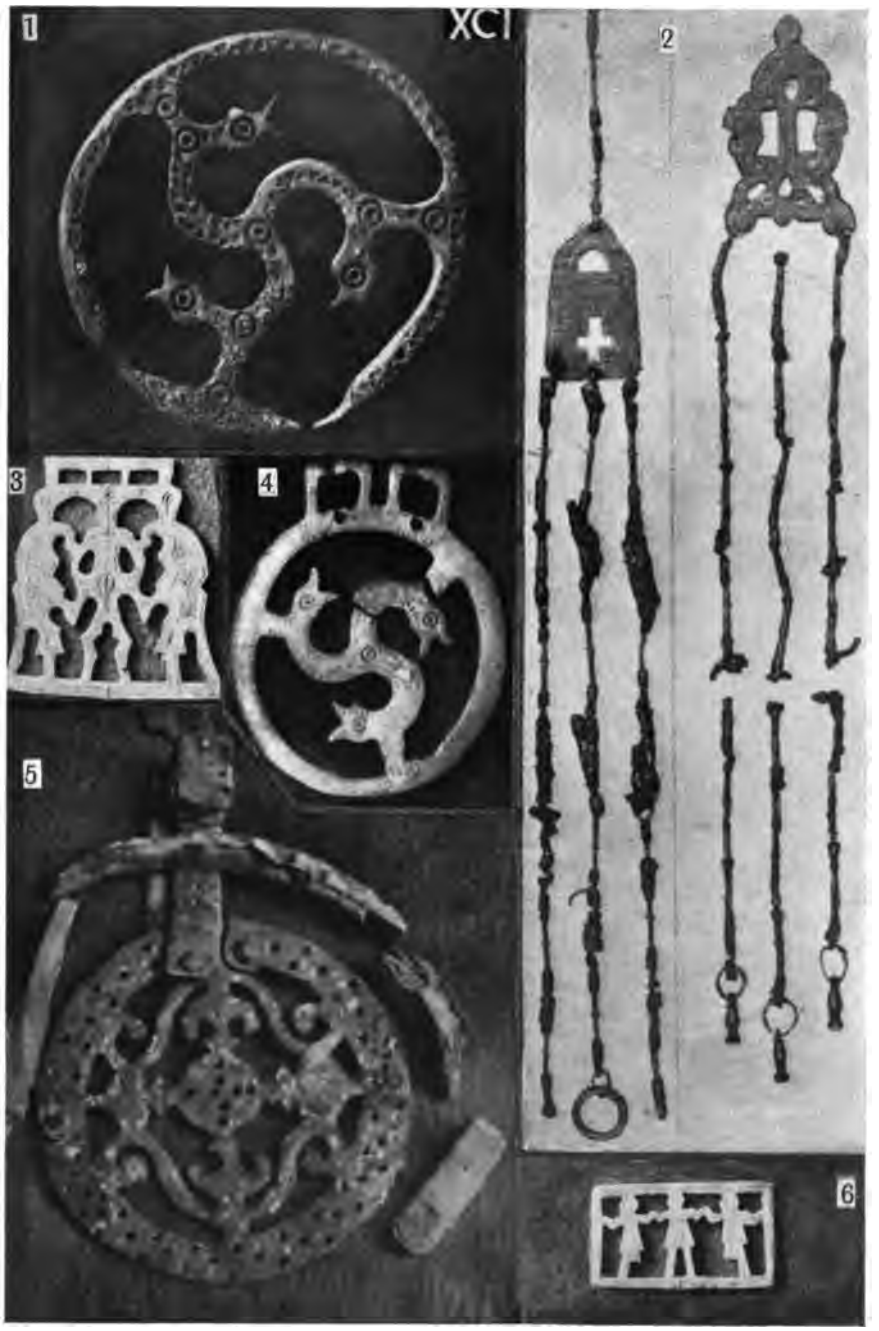
are extant. Though the two are evidently meant to form a pair they are not exactly alike, and the upper one has lost the eye at the end where it was riveted to the bow. No. 3 is a single piece, 5 in. long, like the rest upon the Plate in bronze, that has passed with the Bloxam collection into the Art Museum, Rugby; and, lastly, No. 1 was found, one of a pair, in grave 158 in the cemetery at Sleaford, Lincs, by the hips of a skeleton and in contiguity with an iron mass that the explorer thought was the remains of a bunch of keys. The end of the bar is worked into the familiar shape of the horse's head, and beyond this came the usual eye.

The mode of wearing and the use of the 'girdle hanger' present difficulties that have not yet been satisfactorily solved. Little aid is here to be gained from continental sources, for though these objects have been found in graves in Gaul and the Rhineland they are not common, and where they are noticed they are spoken of as 'keys.' Neither in the *Arts Industriels* of M. Barrière-Flavy nor in the *Mobilier Funéraire* of M. Boulanger are they figured, but the latter writer gives a pair in his work on Marchélepot, pl. xxxv, and calls them 'keys.' Lindenschmit figures a couple in his *Handbuch*, p. 462, but these are of the form of our Pl. LXXXIX, 2, and might pass for bronze keys, under which category he ranks them. It may be held accordingly as proved that what we call in this country 'keys' and 'girdle hangers' are different, and there must be mentioned now the remarkable fact that the girdle hanger appears to be a specially Anglian product, rather wider in its distribution than the wrist clasp already discussed (p. 362 f.) but hardly ever discovered south of the Thames. The only example the writer knows from this region is one found at Faversham, Pl. CLVIII (p. 807), in that cemetery remarkable for the large and varied assortment of its tomb furniture. A pair from Filkins, Oxfordshire, at Liverpool are from a West Saxon site but possibly they are of Mercian origin. Bronze keys on the other hand occur in Kent as

XCI

facing p. 399

CONTINENTAL GIRDLE HANGERS



All Continental pieces

Pl. LXXXIX, 1, etc. On the hypothesis then that the girdle hangers were used for suspension we may consider them in elation to the whole subject of the carrying on the person of the small objects referred to above (p. 389).

There can be little doubt that the 'hangers' were suspended head downwards in the position occupied by the piece shown on the skeleton on Pl. XVIII, 3 (p. 177), and probably by a narrow strap, passing under the bow as the pair hang Pl. XC, 2, and secured by one of the small buckles which have been found so numerously in graves and for which a use must be found. In this case these girdle hangers would offer below four loops by which small objects might be suspended, and the pair Pl. XC, 4, would offer six, or perhaps even ten if the notches above the head were used as well as the small eyes below this. The Museum at Lincoln contains a very complete pair from Searby, Lincolnshire, with three rings inserted in the lowest bar as they would hang. These are undoubtedly for the attachment of some small objects. See Fig. 13.

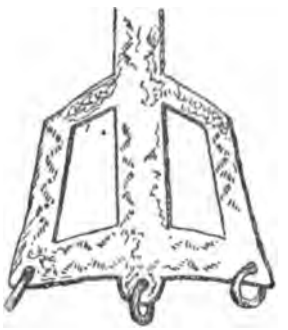


FIG. 13.—Termination of Girdle Hanger.

Thus disposed and used these long suspenders correspond to pierced plates of other shapes, that were employed by ladies for this same purpose to some extent in England but still more largely abroad. While as we have seen our girdle hangers are there called keys, the antiquaries of the Continent recognize pierced round or rectangular plaques as the foundation of the 'trousse' or châtelaine. M. Pilloy[1] records that in the later Frankish cemeteries which he has opened 'on trouve assez souvent à la ceinture des femmes, un peu vers la gauche, des rondelles ou rouelles de bronze étamé que l'on a aussi appelées plaques ajourées . . . toutes les fois que l'on trouve

[1] *Études*, II, 27.

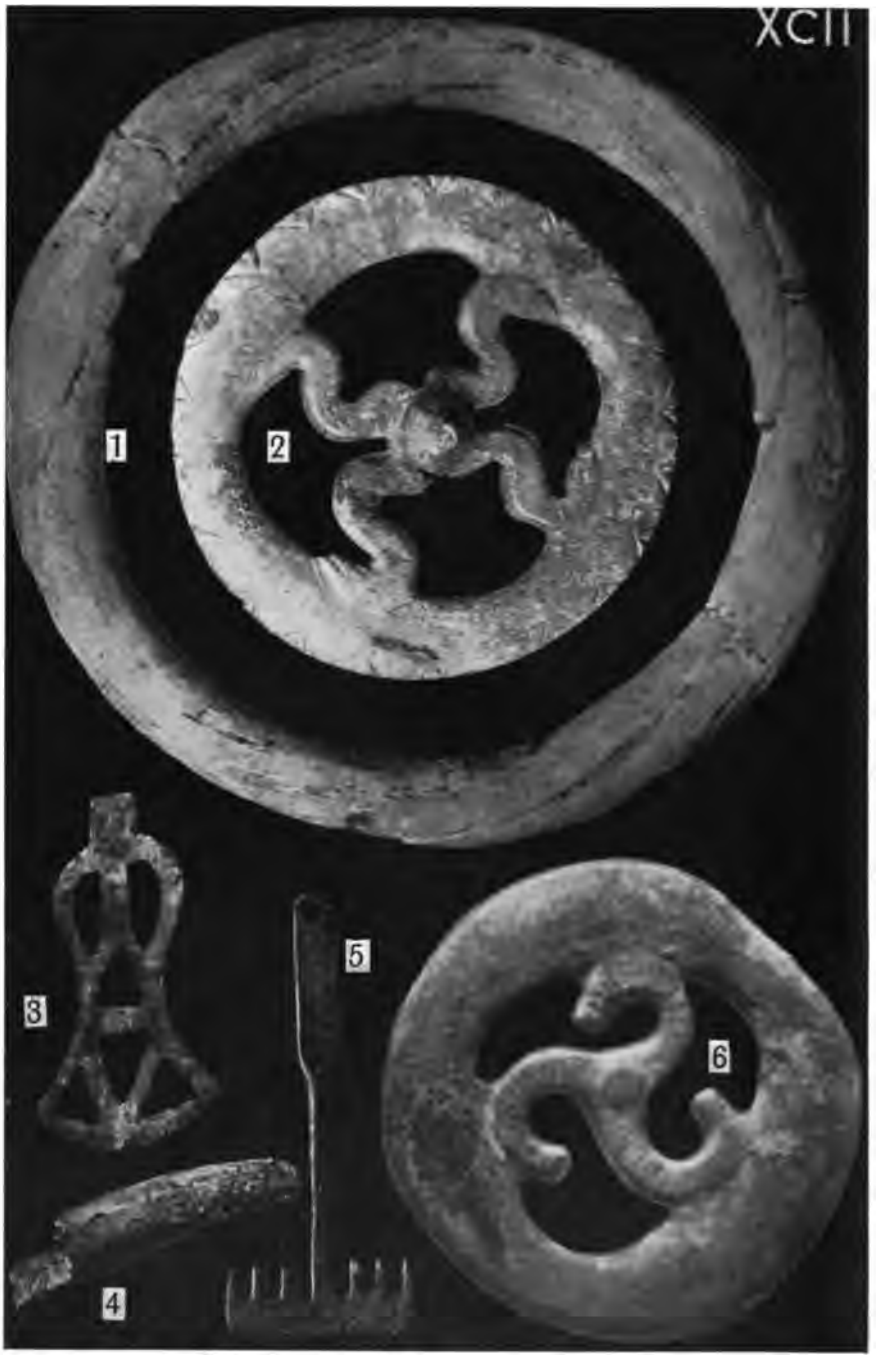
la plaque ajourée à la ceinture d'une femme, on rencontre vers les genoux les ferrailles qui sont les restes de la trousse.' Alamannic graves are well furnished with similar objects, and a classic example is Pl. xci, 1, from Kaiser Augst in the Museum at Basel. It bears in the worn portions of the inner circumference of the rim such clear evidence of its former employment that no sort of doubt can exist as to its character and purpose, and it is unfortunate that our girdle hangers do not proclaim themselves more unmistakably by marks of wear of the kind. A somewhat similar piece Pl. xci, 4, from Hardenthum, Pas de Calais, in the Museum at Boulogne, shows where the plaque was hung from the belt. Pl. xci, 5, introduces us to an adjunct to the plaque in the form of an ivory ring that encircled and framed it. The piece is from Meckenheim in Rhenish Hesse and lies in the Provincial Museum at Bonn. The internal diameter of the ivory ring will have been about $3\frac{3}{8}$ in., and it was made up of sections fitted together. Now there is an ivory ring labelled as an armilla or bracelet in the Museum at Devizes, Wilts, $3\frac{7}{8}$ in. in internal diameter and put together in this very same fashion, that may very well have served this identical purpose, and the same might apply to other ivory rings found whole or in fragments, as in the rich grave No. 142 at Kingston, Kent, or at Leagrave, Beds, or in two graves at Brighthampton, Oxon, where objects were found inside the rings,[1] or at Kempston, Beds.[2] In the cemetery at Sleaford, Lincolnshire, Mr. Thomas[3] found portions of ivory or bone that seem to have formed rings of the kind. Pl. xcii, 4 shows a portion of one of the Leagrave rings exhibiting the method of joining the sections. It is reduced in size. The Devizes ring is shown Pl. xcii, 1, slightly reduced. The alternative view of these ivory rings is that they were armlets. This is of course possible but the writer offers the suggestion in the text as a preferable one.

[1] *Archaeologia*, xxxviii, 86, 89. [2] *Ass. Soc. Reports*, 1864, p. 296.
[3] *Archaeologia*, l, 383 f.

XCII

facing p. 401

ANGLO-SAXON GIRDLE HANGERS, ETC.



2, 3, 6, natural size; 1, slightly reduced; 5, half size

Round pierced plaques of a kind resembling the Basel specimen Pl. XCI, 1, occur on English sites. Pl. XCII, 6, was found at Croydon, Pl. XCII, 2, at Little Wilbraham, Cambs, and are respectively in the British Museum and at Audley End. They are shown of the natural size. The fancifully shaped pierced plates with animal and figure subjects that figure largely in the later sepulchral inventories of the Franks do not occur in our cemeteries.[1] Specimens are shown Pl. XCI, 3, 6, on a reduced scale, and the pierced plaque, Pl. XCII, 3, from Barfriston, Kent, shown the true size, may be something of the same kind.

These plates could be attached like the pairs of girdle hangers by means of a small strap and buckle to the owner's belt, but it is another question how the small objects were connected with them. Those shown on Pl. LXXXVII are for the most part provided with rings and might conceivably be hitched over the upstanding prongs of girdle hangers like Pll. LXXXIX, 2; XC, 1, or like Pl. XCII, 5, in the Museum at York, 5 in. long, and represented here half size. This would however be a very unsafe arrangement and the objects would be too easily lost or stolen. To the round plaques or the girdle hangers with pierced but not open apertures the ring could be fastened by a thong or small strap and buckle but the objects could only be made available by a tiresome process of unfastening. No contrivance like the spring attachment, familiar to us at the end of dog leashes or watch chains, seems to have been in use for getting an object like a key quickly on and off the châtelaine. It is possible however that the arrangement observed on the Continent was in use among ourselves, and that these objects were suspended at the end of comparatively long chains or thongs which would render practicable the manipulation of them without their being detached from their fastenings. Long chains, composed generally of lengths

[1] Pilloy, *Les Plaques Ajourées Carolingiennes*, Paris, 1893, gives a notice of these.

of wire looped together, that must have served this purpose, have been found not infrequently attached to ornamental pierced plates in graves of the eastern Franks and Alamanni. The Museum at Worms contains some good specimens, see Pl. XCI, 2. The total length of these châtelaines is sometimes as much as 2 ft. 6 in. It is only when they are of bronze that the chains or linked wires have survived. If the material were iron, or if thongs were used instead of chains, little would now be preserved. Faussett often notices the occurrence in graves he opened of 'small links of a chain chiefly rusted together'—to borrow his words about grave 222 at Kingston Down—and the remains will justify the suggestion that long châtelaines of the kind may have been an Anglo-Saxon fashion.[1] It is at the same time significant that the bunch of bronze keys from Ozengell, Thanet, shown Pl. LXXXIX, 1, is attached to an annular brooch which seems to indicate that it was fastened independently on to some part of the owner's dress and not hung from a châtelaine. At Broadstairs, Kent, in the private collection of Miss Bartrum in whose grounds the Jutish cemetery was recently opened (p. 132), there is a quoit brooch with an iron ring linked through it which seems another example of the same arrangement. These two cemeteries are only a few miles apart.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

Other portable objects must now be noticed which were

[1] The following is an extract from the Introduction by Charles Roach Smith to the record of Faussett's discoveries, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. xxvii :—'in the graves of females there is frequent mention of small iron chains, or links of small chains, decomposed, or oxidized into a mass. These links, or the remains of them, were generally noticed extending in two lines from the hips to the knees of the skeletons. . . . They were evidently worn fastened to the girdle, to which also keys were sometimes attached.' To their lower extremities, he adds, were appended 'assemblages of implements . . . precisely of the same character as those we often see worn by ladies at the present day.'

facing p. 403

CRYSTAL BALLS, SPINDLE WHORLS, ETC.



All the objects are natural size

3 is Continental

either furnished with rings for suspension or were of such a kind that they must have been carried on the person in some other way. Of the former the most interesting as well as the most puzzling are spoons with perforated bowls, and crystal balls, which are so often found together that there seems to have been some connection, as yet unexplained, between them. The spoon appears in Anglo-Saxon graves in more than one form, and objects in rock crystal other than these crystal balls are not very uncommon and will presently be noticed, but there is something quite special about the perforated spoon and the sphere. A specimen of the latter was found in the tomb of Childeric the Frank of the year 481 A.D., and is shown Pl. XCIII, 3. It is a plain sphere of rock crystal $1\frac{9}{16}$ in. in diameter and is without mounts. Similar spheres, in most cases mounted and strung for suspension, have been found occasionally abroad but, comparatively speaking, far more often in graves in Kent, in the Isle of Wight, and in some other English districts. Pl. XCIII, 1, shows one of two[1] at Maidstone from Sarre, Thanet. It was discovered in the very richly endowed grave 4, and is nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, mounted in silver bands with loop for suspension. A Bifrons example, one of three from the cemetery,[2] $1\frac{3}{16}$ in. in diameter, is shown Pl. XCIII, 2. George Hillier, in his *History and Antiquities of the Isle of Wight*, figures two from the Chessell Down cemetery on his plate 10, and specimens were also found at Kingston,[3] Faversham,[4] Chartham Down,[5] Harrietsham,[6] and Chatham Lines,[7] while 'two crystal spheres mounted in silver' were exhibited before the Society of Antiquaries in 1901 as having been found near Canterbury.[8] Kempston, Beds,

[1] *Catalogue of Kent Archaeological Society's Collection at Maidstone*, by George Payne, F.S.A., Lond., 1892, pp. 20, 30.

[2] ibid., p. 20. Bifrons produced 7 examples in all.

[3] *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 42.

[4] *Victoria History*, Kent, I, 373.

[5] *Inv. Sep.*, p. 164.

[6] *Catalogue*, as above, p. 30.

[7] Douglas, *Nenia Britannica*, p. 14.

[8] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XVIII, 279.

furnished an example,[1] and Wylie[2] says that one, afterwards lost, came to light at Fairford, Gloucestershire.

One of the Chessell Down crystal balls was found actually within the bowl of a spoon, and the two objects have often in Kent been discovered in conjunction, the situation in the grave indicating apparently that the two had been suspended in front from the girdle, for they are lying generally between the thigh bones. The most interesting of these spoons is the Bifrons example Pl. XCIV, 2, for this was found in a grave with other objects suggesting a date within V, and its comparative plainness agrees with an early period. This last may also be said of another Bifrons example figured Pl. XCIV, 0, on a scale of about half its natural size. The perforations here are more numerous and not arranged like those in the other examples on the Plate. The spoons are about 5 in. long, No. 0 is silver, No. 2 is of silvered bronze and is furnished with a ring for suspension.

Other examples such as the one from Sarre Pl. XCIV, 1, 7 in. long, with hole for suspension, are more ornate and are set with garnets in the familiar Kentish fashion. All specimens of this type agree in possessing a round bowl in the middle of which a number of holes are drilled forming a simple pattern. This pattern in the case of the early Bifrons spoon Pl. XCIV, 2, is cruciform, and yet the piece must date nearly a century before the conversion of the Jutes. The same disposition of the holes occurs in the more ornate example Pl. XCIV, 1, and it evidently has no Christian intention.

The questions What was the object of these perforations, and what connection, if any, was there between the spoon and the crystal ball, are as difficult to answer as the query What was the character and use of the crystal itself. The crystal sphere it is well known has been invested with magical properties, and superstitions connected with it can be traced back

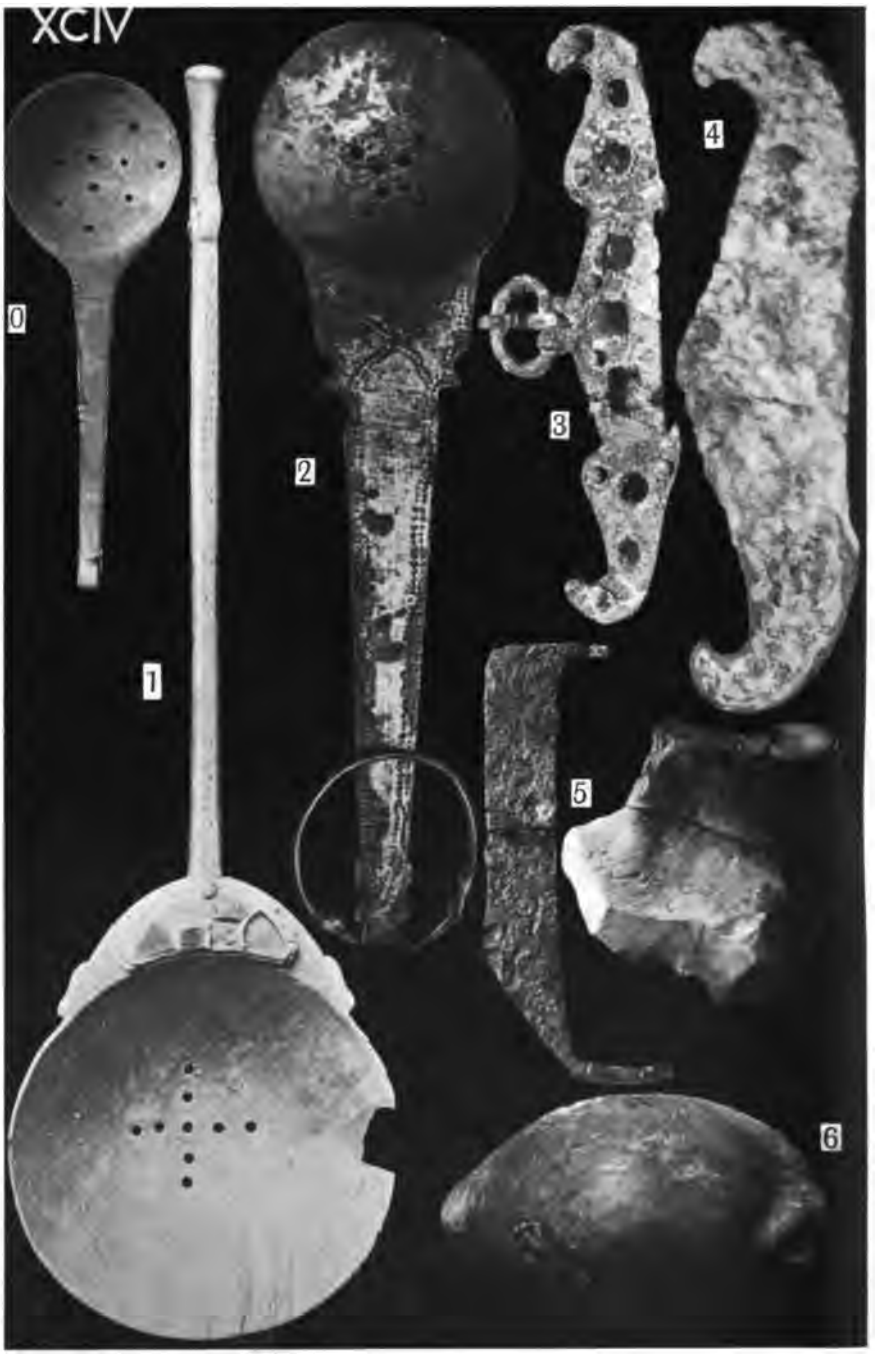
[1] *Assoc. Soc. Reports*, 1864, p. 299.

[2] *Fairford Graves*, p. 15.

XCIV

facing p. 405

PERFORATED SPOONS, ETC., ETC.



1, 2, natural size; 3, ¾ natural size; 0, half size

3, 5, are Continental

at any rate to mediaeval times.[1] Douglas who, we have seen (p. 126), is disposed to detect a mystical significance in appearances that can be otherwise more simply explained, naturally makes the most of the magical associations of the crystal, though these cannot be traced by definite evidence very far back. Lindenschmit[2] is confident that the object was treasured and worn for other reasons than aesthetic attractiveness, and suggests that it was prophylactic against disease, while Mr. Reginald Smith[3] is decidedly of the opinion that the crystal sphere was something more than an ornament and that its association with the perforated spoon had some meaning. Like so many of the objects with which this book is dealing the crystal sphere has been traced back to southern Russia, and 'a small sphere of crystal or glass mounted for suspension in very much the same style as the early Teutonic examples was found in a Greco-Scythian grave dating from the fourth-third century B.C.'[4] There seems reason to think that any magical or prophylactic significance ascribed to crystal was not attached to the substance itself, but only to its presentment in the form of a sphere, in which the changing lights and shades convey a certain impression of illusiveness. A Gothic sword hilt in the Museum at Odessa has a rock crystal pommel that we need not imagine a charm, and there is in the British Museum a Frankish buckle with the ring formed out of the same material. The method of cutting the substance is aptly illustrated by a substantial lump of it in the Mayer-Faussett collection at Liverpool, probably from a grave in Kent. This

[1] The *locus classicus* for objects of rock crystal used as charms or prophylactics is two articles by Mr. George F. Black in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for 1892-3 and 1894-5. To these may be referred any readers interested in this subject, which cannot here be discussed at length.

[2] *Handbuch*, p. 470.

[3] *Victoria History*, Kent, I, 342, and other passages.

[4] O. N. Dalton on 'The Crystal of Lothair,' in *Archaeologia*, LIX, 35, note.

will be illustrated later on, in connection with the slicing of garnets for inlays, see Pl. CXLVII, 11 (p. 537).

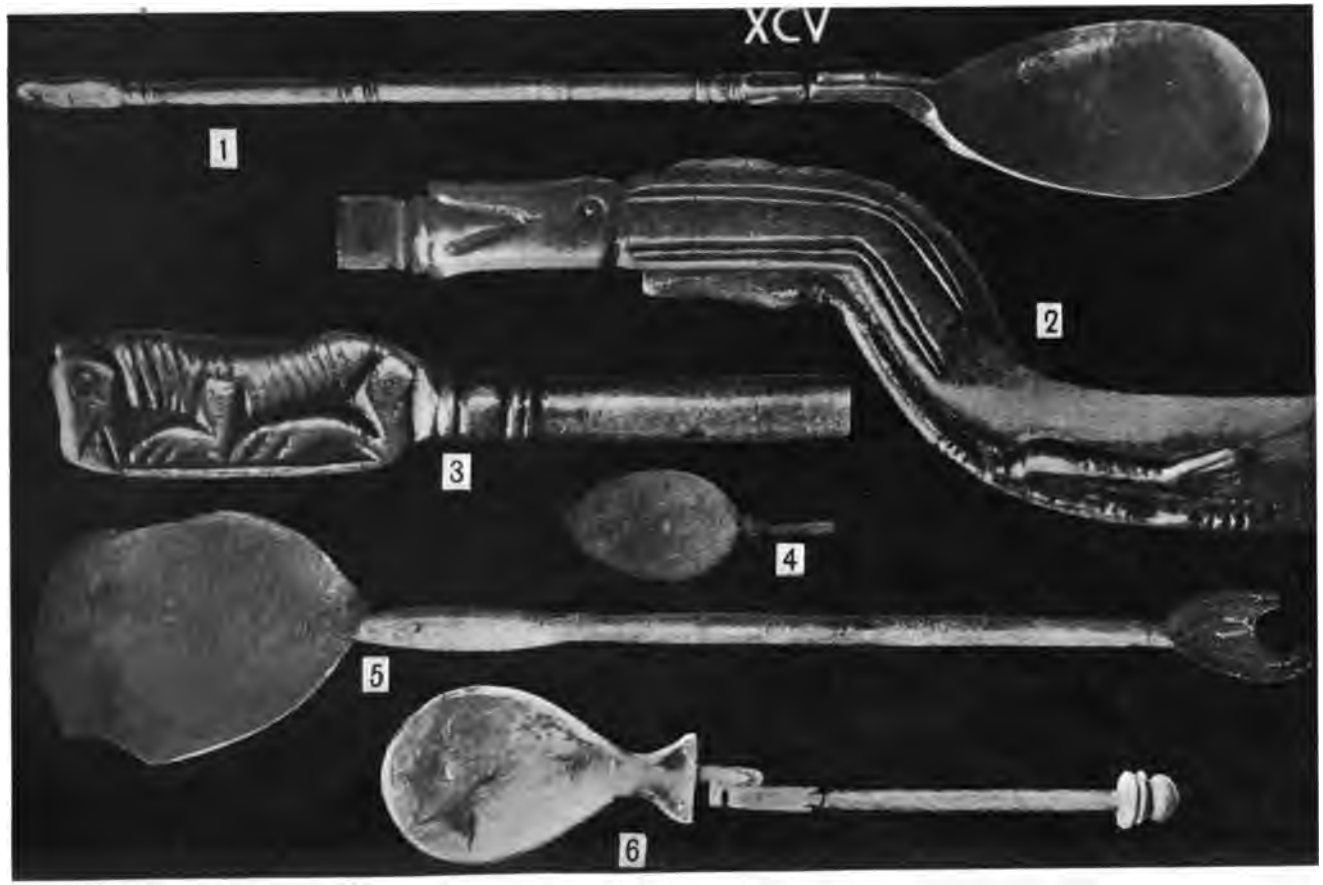
Faceted masses of the substance cut in this fashion and always pierced with a hole in the centre occur in Anglo-Saxon graves, where they are explained as beads or as spindle whorls. Long Wittenham, Berks; Brighthampton, Oxon; Glen Parva, Leicestershire, have furnished examples, but perhaps the finest specimen is one in the Museum at Warwick, found at Emscote in that neighbourhood, 2¼ in. in diameter, shown Pl. XCIII, 4. The Glen Parva example is 1⅞ in. across by 1⅝ in. high. Big masses like these are far too heavy to be carried as part of a necklet, but similar faceted beads of much smaller size may have been worn as pendants. A bead pierced for stringing but not faceted was found with the early perforated spoon at Bifrons and may have served the same purpose as a crystal sphere. Pieces of amber, to which substance also there was attached a mystic virtue, have been found similarly placed, and at Chessell Down, 'on the left side of a female skeleton, were five lumps of amber that appeared to have been fastened to a ring (which remained near them) and thus suspended from the girdle.'[1]

Concerning the function of the perforated spoon itself nothing has been offered but guesses. The one indication that is of value is derived from the fact that in the Museum at Wiesbaden a perforated spoon is joined in the same bunch with a pair of tweezers and a 'cure-oreille' which seems to show that it was used in some way for toilet purposes. That it was employed at table for skimming the beer, as suggested by Dr. Gröbbels,[2] is hardly probable, since like the crystal balls and most of the suspended objects it is apparently only found in women's graves.

Anglo-Saxon spoons of other kinds may now have a word. Roman spoons with unperforated bowls are common enough and are generally marked by the peculiarity that the bowl, which

[1] Hillier, *Isle of Wight*, p. 34. [2] *Der Reihengräberfund*, p. 40.

SPOONS, ANGLO-SAXON AND ROMAN



1, 5, rather under natural size ; 2, 3, enlarged

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, Anglo-Saxon ; 6, Continental (Roman)

is usually of an oval form, is dropped below the plane of the stem by a bend in the latter near the bowl end. No. 6 on Pl. xcv gives an example from the Museum at Copenhagen. Specimens of such stepped spoons have been found in Anglo-Saxon graves, as at Haslingfield, Cambridgeshire; Kemble, Gloucestershire, and Basset Down, Wilts, Pl. xcv, 4, but these may be merely Roman survivals. The spoon Pl. xcv, 5, found at Desborough, Northants, is of barbaric make and has a curious flattening of the stem near the bowl which may be a reminiscence of stepping, and there is a spatula-like termination of the stem at the other end with some nondescript ornamentation upon it. The spoon No. 1, of which details are given on an enlarged scale in Nos. 2, 3, is a genuine piece of Teutonic art probably but not certainly of Anglo-Saxon origin, and of a date somewhere about 500 A.D.[1] It is of silver with considerable remains of gilding, and measures $7\frac{1}{8}$ in. in length. There is a dip or step after the Roman fashion from the plane of the handle to that of the bowl of $\frac{5}{16}$ in., and there are strengthening pieces above and below where bowl and handle join, the one below having two side branches ending in fan-like extensions. The stem is banded at intervals by mouldings such as those on turned balusters. The bowl part with its attachments is joined on to the stem proper by an animal's head whose open jaws embrace the stem. At the top of the stem the finish is formed by a recumbent quadruped with very pronounced claws and a head like that at the bowl end of the handle. This very interesting object belongs to Mr. Basil Oxenden and was found about sixty years ago on ground belonging to his family, the Broome Park Estate near Barham in Kent, in a field adjoining the Roman thoroughfare between Dover and

[1] See *The Burlington Magazine* for November 1913. Thanks are due to the owner of the spoon for his permission to publish it, and to the proprietors of the Magazine for leave to reproduce the illustrations to the article.

Canterbury, just across the road from the well known 'Halfway' inn. There appears to be no record of any objects found with it that might indicate a burial, and some traveller may conceivably have lost it or had it filched from him as he journeyed inland from across the Channel.

The obviously Roman derivation of the shape of the piece is in favour of an early date, and so too is the naturalistically treated quadruped, that is of Germanic rather than Roman character and possesses in compact form the anatomical structure which in later animal ornament is broken up into wildest disarray. There are somewhat close parallels to it in Scandinavian art of V A.D., and it occurs on the earliest of the three magnificent gold necklets shown on Pl. LV (p. 309). In our own country a creature very like it appears on a carved wooden knife handle found in the excavations of the Roman station at Corbridge in Northumberland, and figured in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries, XXIII, p. 12. It is true that well knit creatures of the kind occur both at home and abroad at a much later date, as in examples on Pll. V and IX (pp. 81, 103), on the Franks Casket, and on the Burgundian buckle plate shown Pl. LII, 6 (p. 293), but convincing proof of the early origin of the spoon is to be found in a small detail connected with the strengthening or decorative ribs at the junction of bowl and stem. Some of these terminate in what is unmistakably the 'horse's head' that finishes the foot of the cruciform fibulae of V and VI. Such heads, in forms strikingly like those on the spoon, occur on some objects in the often-mentioned Nydam find of about IV in Schleswig, and this fact may be held to assure the early date of the piece before us.

The problem presented by keys and girdle hangers is paralleled by that offered by the other pair of similar objects, the 'strike-a-light' and the 'purse mount.' The former, the French 'briquet,' is a piece of iron of the general shape given Pl. XCIV, 4, a specimen found at Mitcham, Surrey, though the horns are sometimes longer and curve back towards the centre.

The latter, a not uncommon object in Frankish cemeteries, is an object generally of bronze, or very exceptionally of more precious metal, often set with garnets, presenting much the same general shape as the strike-a-light but commonly with the addition of a buckle appended in the middle of its length. Pl. XCIV, 3, shows a characteristic specimen from the Frankish cemetery of Herpes on the Charente in western France; it is 4 in. long. Has such a piece ever been found in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery? The only recorded specimens of the kind are in iron not bronze, and the objects on investigation reveal themselves in many cases as strike-a-lights. That such is the proper description of objects like Pl. XCIV, 4, is shown by the occasional discovery with them of the piece of flint used for percussion. The two together occurred in the Burgundian cemetery of Lussy, Canton Fribourg, Switzerland, and they are shown Pl. XCIV, 5. Now the supposed purse mounts found in this country are all described as of iron, the material of the 'briquet,' and it might be argued that they are all in reality strike-a-lights. In view of the possibility of the confusion now under notice it may be said at once that some of the pieces have decidedly the character of purse mounts. For our own country the example most to the point is that figured and described on p. 33 of Mr. Hillier's book on the Isle of Wight. Fig. 14 is a reproduction of his engraving. He notes three instances at Chessell Down of the appearance of a 'purse or bag.' 'In two cases the upper pieces of the iron framework alone remained'—words that we might interpret on the supposition that the iron

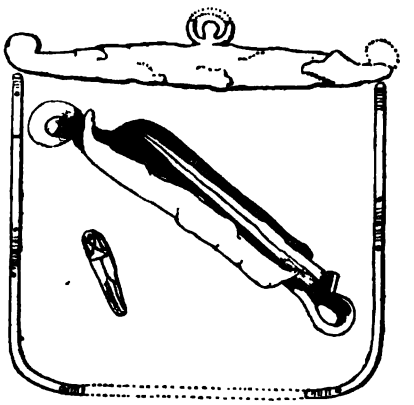


FIG. 14.—Remains of Purse from Chessell Down.

object was a 'briquet'—'but in one grave the precise use of this iron clasp was unmistakably defined. It rested about half way down the thigh bone; and on carefully removing the chalk from about it, the bronze binding of the material (the small portions which were not decayed appeared like leather) which formed the pouch itself was discovered in the position shown in the engraving. The iron instruments were placed exactly as delineated; but whether they had been deposited in the bag, or on its outside, was of course impossible to ascertain.' The find is in the British Museum, but in the present condition of the fragments there is very little to be made of them, save in the case of the top piece where the

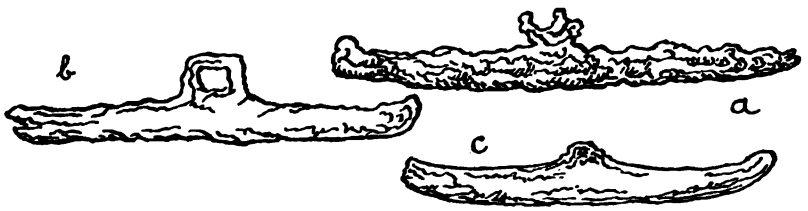
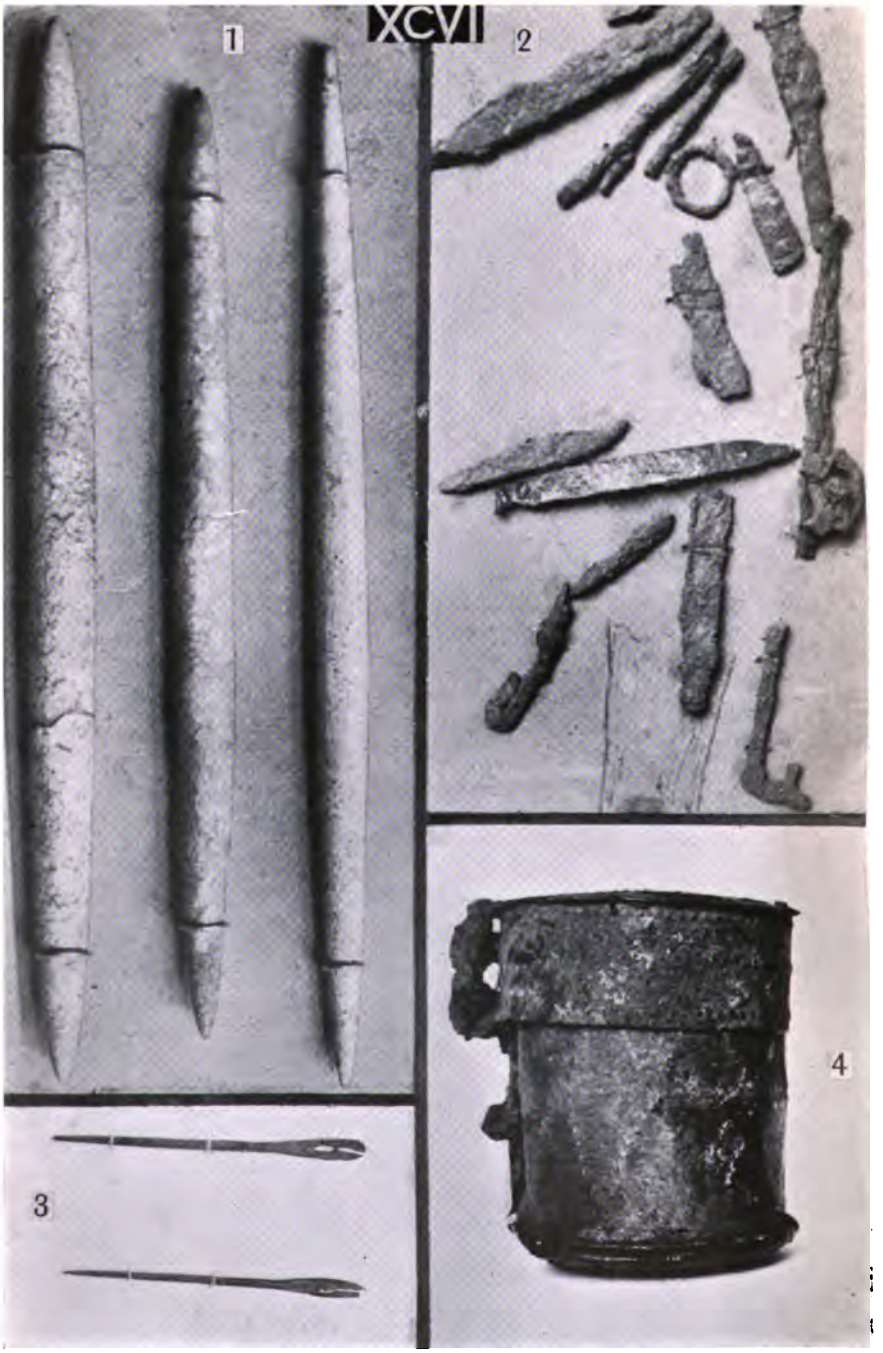


Fig. 15.—Iron Purse Mounts from Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries.

remains of the buckle seem to be unmistakable. Sketches of this, Fig. 15, a, and of another from Chessell Down, b, as they now lie in the British Museum show the remains of the buckle-like adjuncts. The third piece, c, from Harnham Hill is more doubtful. How these iron purse mounts were used is another matter, for the necessary riveting, etc., would be much more difficult in the case of iron than of bronze. In any case the adjustment of the object to its supposed purpose offers a problem that has not yet been satisfactorily solved.

The absence among ourselves of the continental pattern of the decorated purse mount does not of course preclude the use by the Anglo-Saxons of some kind of sporran or girdle pouch, in which objects that could not well be suspended might be preserved safe and easily available for use. On the history of the pouch in itself, as a product of post-classical

SPINDLES, WORK BOX, NEEDLES, ETC.



1, 3, 4, natural size; 2, reduced

times, Lindenschmit's invaluable *Handbuch*[1] with its wealth of literary notices may be consulted. Here we may notice its appearance in Anglo-Saxon surroundings among the representations on the Franks Casket, where the female figure, Pl. LXXXI, 10, carries a bag with a long looped handle, while in another part, the scene in Jerusalem on the back of the casket, of two adjacent figures one has a satchel hung round his neck and the other a bag with a looped handle in his hand. In no case are metal mounts indicated nor is the pouch slung at the waist, where however, it will be observed, the Frankish noble in the Bible of Charles the Bald wears his sporran, Pl. LXXXII, 1 (p. 374).

Explorers of our cemeteries have often recorded indications of the former existence of a pouch of leather or some other suitable material that had contained small objects which remain together in a little heap in the grave. In the Mitcham cemetery, Surrey, close by the thigh bones of a skeleton there was found a curious assortment of objects, all with the exception of a single bronze one of iron, that may have been contained in such a pouch. A knife blade and a key were the only things clearly to be identified, Pl. XCVI, 2.

The spindle whorl has already been illustrated, Pl. XCIII, 4, 5; the spindle, which was inserted into the aperture wherewith this was pierced and to which the whorl gave the weight necessary to keep the implement spinning, would naturally be looked for in women's graves, and this designation is given to sundry pointed objects like elongated cigars made of bone or ivory that have occasionally come to light, as in the important grave 299 at Kingston, Kent, and at Barrington, Cambs. Specimens from this cemetery are shown Pl. XCVI, 1, the natural size. The longest measures 5½ in. Connected also with the characteristic operations of women are small work boxes and needle cases some of which have attachments by which they might be hung from the belt or fastened to a

[1] P. 456 f.

châtelaine. The work box consists in a small cylindrical receptacle of bronze, between 1⅞ and 2⅛ in. high, with a lid fitting over like that of a bandbox but hinged at the back so that it could not be lost. Ornament is added in the form of tiny bosses beaten out from the inside and arranged in bands or simple geometrical patterns. That the designation of these objects here adopted is correct is shown by the fact that remains of thread and textiles and also needles have several times been found in them. The small size and delicacy of the neatly made little caskets, some of which showed by existing traces that they were once brightly gilt,[1] give a pleasing impression of the refinement of Anglo-Saxon ladies, and if it be true that the minute shears and knives noticed on a previous page (p. 393) were really used in fine needlework we may credit the dames of high degree with fingers as deft as those of the goldsmith who cut and set the garnets in Kentish jewellery.

The close resemblance among these small objects wherever they are found suggests manufacture in some one centre and distribution by itinerant merchants. They have been found in more than one example in Kent, in two graves at Kempston, Beds,[2] in at least four at Uncleby, Yorks,[3] and also in Cambridgeshire, Derbyshire, and Northants.[4]

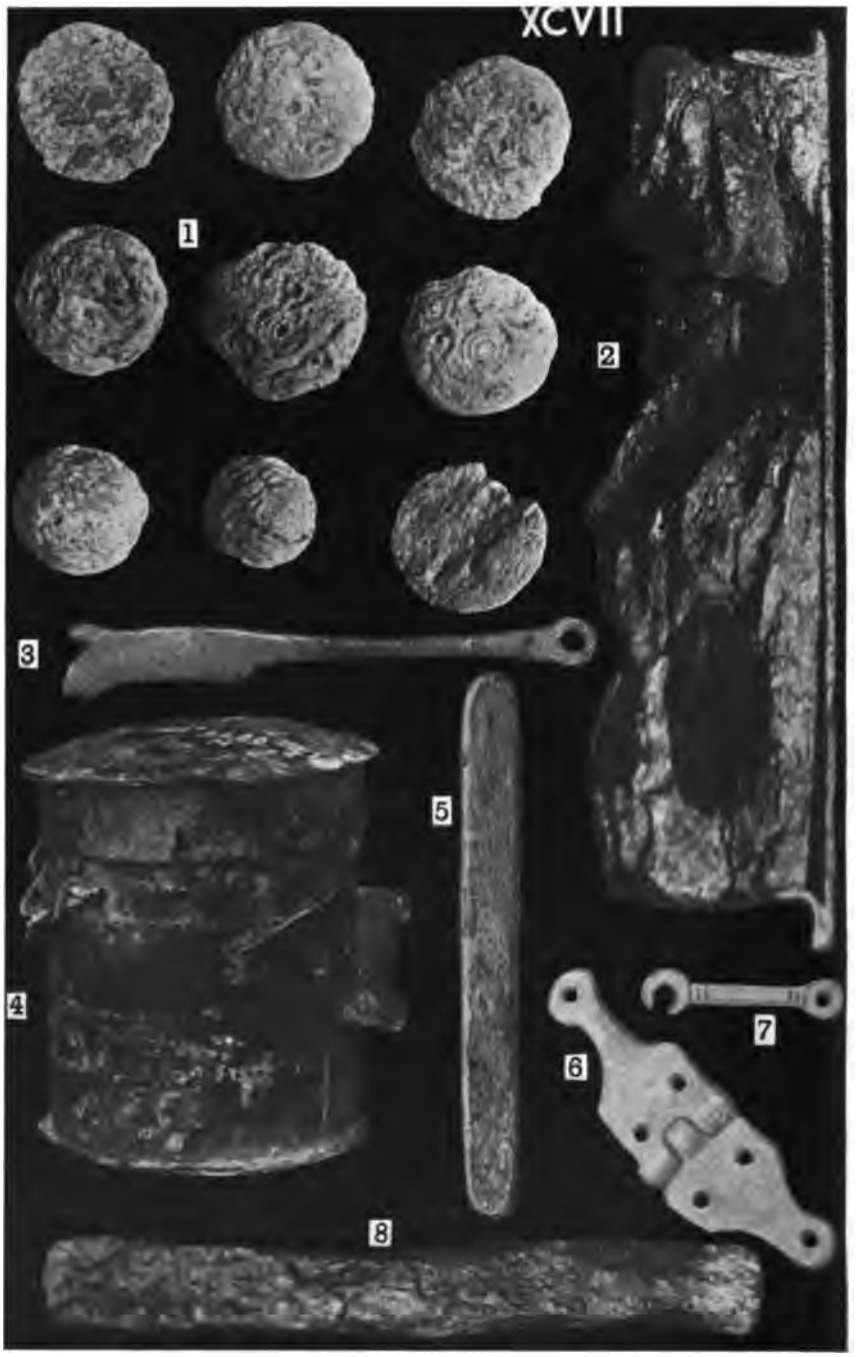
Of the specimens shown, Pl. xcvii, 4, very slightly enlarged, is from Sibertswold, Kent, grave 60, and has an attachment riveted on to the centre of the cylinder by which it could be suspended. Above this attachment can be discerned the hinge of the lid. The small chain seen to the left in the photograph ends in a pin which fastens the hasp of the lid when this is shut down. The other example Pl. xcvi, 4, from Uncleby, Yorks, is shown about the natural size. The Kentish box is said by Faussett to have contained 'some small silken strings, of two sizes; some raw silk, as it seems; some wool and some

[1] Kempston inventory, *Ass. Soc. Reports*, 1864, pp. 289, 291.
[2] *Assoc. Soc. Reports*, 1864. [3] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, xxiv.
[4] *Victoria History*, Northants, i, 240.

XCVII

facing p. 413

COUNTERS, TOOLS, ETC.



1, 4, 7, about natural size; 2, 6, 8, somewhat reduced; 5, $\frac{1}{8}$ natural size; 3, nearly double

short hair.' The Uncleby box contained 'two kinds of thread.'[1] One of the Kempston boxes 'contained a fragment of worsted fabric, and some linen manufacture of three distinct qualities' and the other 'some spun thread and wool, twisted in two strands.' These notices are important as showing the use of the objects but, as we have already seen (p. 380), it would be hazardous to accept implicitly the designations 'silk,' 'wool,' 'linen,' for the fibres actually found.

The Kempston boxes are said to have had about them decayed matter that looked like the remains of a pouch or bag, and they must have been thus carried when there was no attachment for hanging. Faussett figures a small needle case about 2 in. by $\frac{1}{4}$ in. from grave 222 at Kingston with two gilt bronze needles in it, that has no such attachment. Needles of bronze of which the longest measures $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. were found at Castle Acre, Norfolk, and are figured Pl. XCVI, 3.

To set against these feminine *peculia* there may now be noticed some objects belonging specially to men that would be carried in the male sporran. Collections of counters evidently intended for playing some game may be mentioned. One set from a grave at Sarre, in the Kent Archaeological Society's Museum at Maidstone, is shown Pl. XCVII, 1. They average about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter, and have on their upper surfaces circles incised as ornaments or marks. In another grave at Sarre there were no fewer than 50 of these counters or draughtsmen. There were two, one made out of a piece of Samian ware, at Bishopsbourne, Kent, and the Taplow Barrow, Bucks, furnished a set of 30. In a barrow in Derbyshire Thomas Bateman found 28 similar objects, many of them marked like those from Sarre with incised circles. These devices do not seem to have any numerical significance and it is a matter of pure conjecture how the counters were used. The Anglo-Saxon warriors, like soldiers generally, were doubtless fond of games of hazard, and may have won or lost their

[1] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XXIV, 150.

money by the manipulation of the pieces. Dice, apparently numbered or marked in a significant fashion, have sometimes also been signalized, as at Searby, Lincolnshire.

In some parts of the country, as in the Yorkshire Wolds, the whetstone is of not uncommon occurrence in the graves of warriors. There were a dozen at Uncleby alone, and there were found also at Uncleby and elsewhere in the county of York a number of 'steels' suitable for sharpening weapons or knives. They are 'square ended, $\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide, a little more than $\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick, and (with the tang for insertion in a wooden handle) 4 to 6 in. long.'[1] The whetstone at York, Pl. XCVII, 5, 'was found standing upright in a crevice of the chalk, having been placed there, to be easily accessible to the warriors and hunters who were sleeping in the grave-mound, when they wished to sharpen their swords and knives.'[2] It is of course greatly reduced for the actual object is 18 in. long.

In this connection may be taken one or two examples of tools and implements found in Anglo-Saxon graves. These are excessively uncommon, and this fact has some social significance. The tomb furniture with which we have been dealing is on the whole of a decidedly aristocratic character, consisting in the main of arms, objects of personal adornment, and vessels often of a somewhat costly type, and we might in consequence credit our Teutonic forefathers with the sentiments of the ancient Athenians who affected to look down on craftsmen as *βάναυσοι*—outside the social pale.[3] In the heroic ages however the chieftain can wield the tool just as well as the weapon, and Odysseus is quite as proud of his cunning craftsmanship in carving the olive trunk into his bridal bed as of his prowess

[1] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XXIV, 146, from Canon Greenwell's notes.

[2] *Handbook to the York Museum*, York, 1891, p. 211.

[3] Shears, workboxes, spindles and whorls, etc., are to be regarded rather as personal possessions belonging to the intimate life than as implements of a calling.

XCVIII

facing p. 415

IMPLEMENTS, INDUSTRIAL AND DOMESTIC



1, $\frac{2}{3}$; 2, $\frac{1}{2}$; 3, $\frac{1}{12}$; 7, $\frac{1}{4}$; 8, $\frac{1}{3}$, natural size

3 is Continental

with the bow. In graves of the Scandinavian Viking age 'the presence of anvils, pincers and other tools as well as weapons and ornaments, is noteworthy, indicating that the art of metal-work was held in esteem even among chiefs, as indeed is known from literary sources.'[1] In the settled period moreover some of the crafts such as that of the goldsmith were held in high honour in Saxon England, and all classes of the population high and low alike were engaged in farming. There seems no reason why the master workman's tools, or the agricultural implement which represented one side of the activity of the territorial lords, should not occur with some frequency in tomb inventories. This is not however the case, and it would not be easy to find many parallels to the carpenter's plane of wood and bronze, and the iron chisel which came to light at Bifrons, and are figured Pl. XCVII, 2, 8. The former is 6 in. long and shows the bottom plate of bronze to the right in the illustration, the sloping slit for the plane iron, and the hollow in the wood at the back of this for the fingers. The chisel measures $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. Sibertswold produced a pair of blacksmith's tongs, 9 in. long, Pl. XCVIII, 7, and iron awls were also noted in the Bifrons cemetery. A lump of rock crystal with the marks of various cuts on it, has been mentioned (p. 405), but the wheels with which the crystal was cut and the garnets sliced, as well as the discs on which they were polished, are nowhere in evidence, though there must be a good many graves of goldsmiths in the Kentish cemeteries.

An implement of a very modern type, the bill-hook, occurs in late Roman and Germanic cemeteries. Though at first sight the object might be mistaken for an accidental modern intrusion there is no doubt that the type belongs to the period, and there are good examples among the Merovingian objects in the Museums at Amiens and at Péronne. The writer knows of no full-sized specimen from an Anglo-Saxon site,

[1] *Enc. Brit.*, 11th Ed., XXIV, 290. Lorange, *Den Yngre Jernalders Sværd*, pl. VIII, figures some of these tools.

but the Kentish cemetery at Kingston furnished to Faussett a miniature model of one, represented on a greatly enlarged scale Pl. xcvii, 3. The original is of bronze, 1⅝ in. long, and is pierced for suspension. A large knife 11 in. long of a curved form suggesting a pruning knife and described as a 'bill' was found at Barrington, Cambs, and is figured, much reduced, Pl. xcviii, 8. The 'bill' and the bill-hook suggest a peaceful usage, and it has been argued that some of the forms of axe head found in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and given Pll. xxix, xxx (p. 233) look towards employment in forestry rather than in war. In the matter of more purely agricultural implements it may be noted that the Cambridge Museum contains an object of uncertain provenance, that seems also to be a 'unicum,' in the form of the iron of a spade 15½ in. long, shown Pl. cx, 1 (p. 459), and the exceptionally hafted axe head from Bifrons, Pl. xxix, 12, might have been used as a mattock, for axe blades set thus at right angles to the usual position of the edge in relation to the hafting have come from Teutonic graves, as at Namur.

Objects for use in the kitchen rather than the field might be looked for in women's graves, and it has been suggested that some of the unadorned vessels of clay that occur, rather mysteriously, side by side with the ornamented sepulchral vases may be specimens of the domestic utensils of the house. For this the reader is referred to a later chapter (p. 504 f.). An apparatus consisting in an iron chain with an iron hook at each end, the whole about 2 ft. 8 in. long, is figured in Faussett's book[1] as found in a grave on Chartham Down, Kent, and was no doubt used for suspending pots over a fire, while there is given on his p. 78 a cut of an unmistakable bronze trivet. Pl. xcviii, 3, shows a curious 'unicum' at Worms in the form of an iron roasting spit, 4 ft. in length; we are reminded of what we are told of Charles the Great, that roasted game was brought in on spits at his daily meal.

[1] *Inv. Sep.*, pl. xv, 22.

Nos. 6 and 7 on Pl. XCVII are a bronze hinge and small silver hasp found in the richly furnished grave 142 at Kingston. The former, one of a pair, belonged apparently to a wooden box bound at the corners with bronze that Faussett estimated as being about 14 in. square and of uncertain depth. It appeared to have contained quite a collection of small objects for personal use and adornment, including the fine comb figured Pl. LXXXVI, 1, three knives, a Cypraea shell like Pl. XCIV, 6, two bracelets, a pair of iron shears, etc., etc. Similar, though smaller, boxes are several times noticed by Faussett in the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, as occurring in women's graves. There were twelve at Sibertswold and nine at Kingston. The list of small oddments noticed in the inventories or preserved in collections might easily be extended, but it would be wearisome to the reader to attempt a catalogue of the casual fittings and implements of the class of which a few specimens have here been noticed. It has been thought well to introduce a reference in this place to miscellaneous discoveries of these kinds instead of relegating them to the end of the present synopsis of the contents of Anglo-Saxon graves. These trivial items can in this way be timeously disposed of, and the synopsis can end on a higher note with some really important entries such as those relating to bronze vessels and to the elegant vases of glass.

Among oddments of the kind here referred to are lumps of iron pyrites that have been found in a tumulus on Breach Down, Kent; near Ringmer, Sussex, and quite recently at Alfriston, Sussex, a specimen from which cemetery is shown Pl. XCVIII, 5. Lumps of iron slag occurred in some of the graves at Stapenhill, Staffordshire, and Pl. XCVIII, 4, gives one of the pieces.

Among objects connected with trade, rather than with crafts or with field or domestic husbandry, there may be mentioned weights and scales that have come to light two or three times in Kent, at Ozengell, Gilton and Sarre, and also at Long Wittenham, Berks, and Desborough, Northants. The example

from Sarre, grave 26, is figured Pl. xcviii, 6. The balance and scales, mounted of course with modern strings, are of bronze, and of the weights, 19 in number, among which 9 are distinctly Roman coins, almost all are squared or ground or dotted so as to adapt them for their purpose. No consistent proportion among the weights nor any satisfactory relation in them to any known standard of the times could be ascertained at the date when the find was published.[1] In connection with a similar find at Gilton accompanied by a piece of touchstone Roach Smith has a note[2] that may be consulted. In the case both of Sarre and Gilton the weights and scales were found in the grave of a warrior with full panoply, and the writer just referred to suggested that 'the occupant had laid by the implements of his early vocation' (that of arms) 'and followed a more peaceful and humanizing profession.' It might on the other hand be surmised that he kept his arms about him to guard his stock-in-trade as a money changer! Neither here nor elsewhere in the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries[3] has any stock of coins been found such as a money changer might have carried about with him, and notices of finds of coins come under other headings, but the reader will not need to be reminded of the discovery of the Crondall hoard (p. 69) nor of the parallel find in Friesland (p. 71). It should be noted that a hoard, apparently of a moneyer rather than a money changer, was found last century at Cuerdale in Lancashire, though not in a cemetery, but this dates from the early part of X.

Small bells have more than once been found in Anglo-Saxon surroundings and in Teutonic graves on the Continent. Faussett figures a couple on his plate x. Quite recently there appeared at Hornsea, Yorks, not actually in but contiguous with the Anglo-Saxon cemetery, a small bronze bell, at present $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. high. The shape of it closely resembles that of some small Roman bells at York, and it is most probably of Roman

[1] *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vi, 161. [2] *Inv. Sep.*, p. 22.

[3] The find at Crondall in Hants (p. 69) was not sepulchral.

XCIX

facing p. 419

ENIGMATICAL OBJECTS FOUND IN GRAVES



1, ⅛ natural size; 4, somewhat reduced; 8, half size; 6, somewhat enlarged

origin though taken over and used by an Anglo-Saxon owner. Nothing Roman has ever come to light at Hornsea. It is figured Pl. XCVIII, 1. Lastly Pl. XCVIII, 2, illustrates a curious object in bronze explained as a water-clock. It is a small saucer shaped pan, 4 in. in diameter, with a tiny hole in the centre, and it is suggested that it was set floating in water, time being measured by the number of minutes which elapsed before it became filled and sank.[1]

On Pl. XCIX are shown a few enigmatical objects found in Anglo-Saxon graves but not hitherto satisfactorily explained. Nos. 1 and 2 are iron objects at first sight resembling sword blades but with a sort of tang at each end. Some examples have come to light in women's graves,[2] and they are probably domestic implements of some kind. The latest theory is that they were used in weaving as battens to press close the threads after they had been drawn through by the shuttle. The weight of the objects makes this rather difficult to believe, for both No. 1, at Bifrons House, and No. 2, from Chessell Down, are 20 in. long and 1½ in. to 2 in. wide. See however the passages in the *Collections* referred to in note 2. Pl. XCIX, 3, is a little trough-shaped spoon of gilded bronze from Chessell Down, very similar to one in Devizes Museum found on a Roman site. No. 4 is a composite object in bronze well made and ornamented that came to light at Croydon and is now in the British Museum. It is 3⅜ in. long and consists in two flattened tubes of bronze similar to those figured Pl. CV, 4 to 6 (p. 433), fixed at right angles to each other with sundry attachments the shape of which the illustration shows. No. 5 is a similar tube with a loop attachment found at Droxford, Hants. There seems no ground for any conjecture as to the use of the Croydon piece. No. 6 is an object of bone from Chessell Down in Carisbrooke Castle Museum. The lower surface is slightly rounded as if the object were a presser or smoother of some kind, or it might possibly have been a cloak-button.

[1] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XXII, 51. [2] *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, XXI.

Pl. XCIX, 7, figures a pair of bronze objects that look like handles, from a Kentish grave at Ozengell. They are $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. long and were published by C. Roach Smith in *Collectanea Antiqua*, III, 16. Lastly, No. 8 is a bronze object found at Cambridge consisting in a sort of round box $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter with pierced plaques above and below and sundry attachments cast in the same piece. In the British Museum there is a similar object minus the attachments that passes for a sword pommel. It was found in West Smithfield, London, and may be presumed to be of Danish date.

HORSE TRAPPINGS

With the objects of a miscellaneous kind of which there is here question may be taken horse trappings, and other evidence that the trusty steed of the lord or lady was remembered in the interment. Such items are of rare occurrence in inventories of grave furniture. The Germans had equestrian tastes, but in the migration period they depended much less on their mounts than did their mediaeval successors of the age of chivalry, or the nomad peoples of the steppes of southern Russia. Caesar tells us that in cavalry fights the Germans often leapt from their horses and continued the combat on foot,[1] and this was recognized as a German practice even at the time of the Crusades.[2] When Julian met the Alamannic army for the great fight near Strassburg, the king and the chieftains of the barbarians sprang from their horses and ranged themselves with the rank and file on foot.[3] Hence, though we are told by Tacitus that the horse of the warrior was sometimes buried in the same grave as its master, we should not expect to find in the migration period this practice of common occurrence. Lindenschmit, who writes of the 'Seltenheit mitbestatteter Pferde,' considers instances of it an indication of

[1] *De Bello Gallico*, IV, ii. [2] Lindenschmit, *Handbuch*, p. 298.
[3] Amm. Marc., *Hist. Rom.*, XVI, xii, 35.

early date,[1] and M. Barrière-Flavy mentions 'le petit nombre de squelettes de chevaux rencontrés jusqu'ici dans les sépultures.'[2] There was an instance at Selzen, and at Gammertingen[3] outside but near the grave of a woman of stately proportions was the skeleton of an aged horse with its head by the feet of the skeleton. Other such cases could be named and German cemeteries are on the whole more prolific in such finds than those of Gaul or Britain. In Kent in a tumulus on Breach Down there was found part of the jawbone of a horse, and at Little

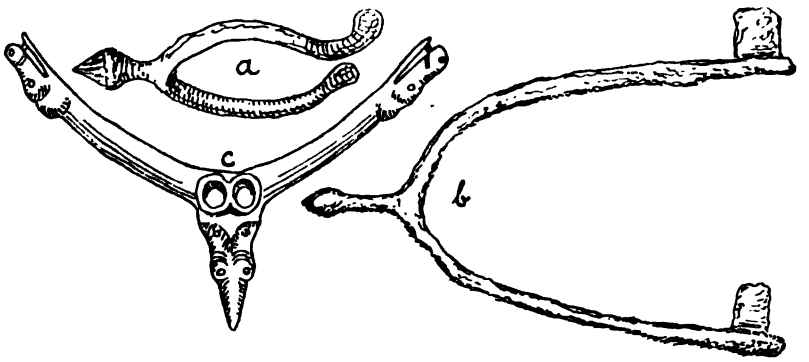


FIG. 16.—Early Prick Spurs.

Wilbraham, Cambs, Neville discovered close to skeleton 44 'the entire remains of a horse.'[4] Similar discoveries were made at Marston St. Lawrence, Northants, and at Great Wigston near Leicester, while in a grave at Stapenhill, Staffordshire, with a skeleton of a young man in very bad preservation a horse's tooth was noticed.

Horse trappings of various kinds occur rather more frequently than do the animal's bones. Spurs have been found sometimes abroad, and till about the end of VII occur singly, being apparently worn on the left foot so as to turn the horse to the right and in this way help to keep out of direct danger the right or unshielded side of the warrior. Anglo-Saxon

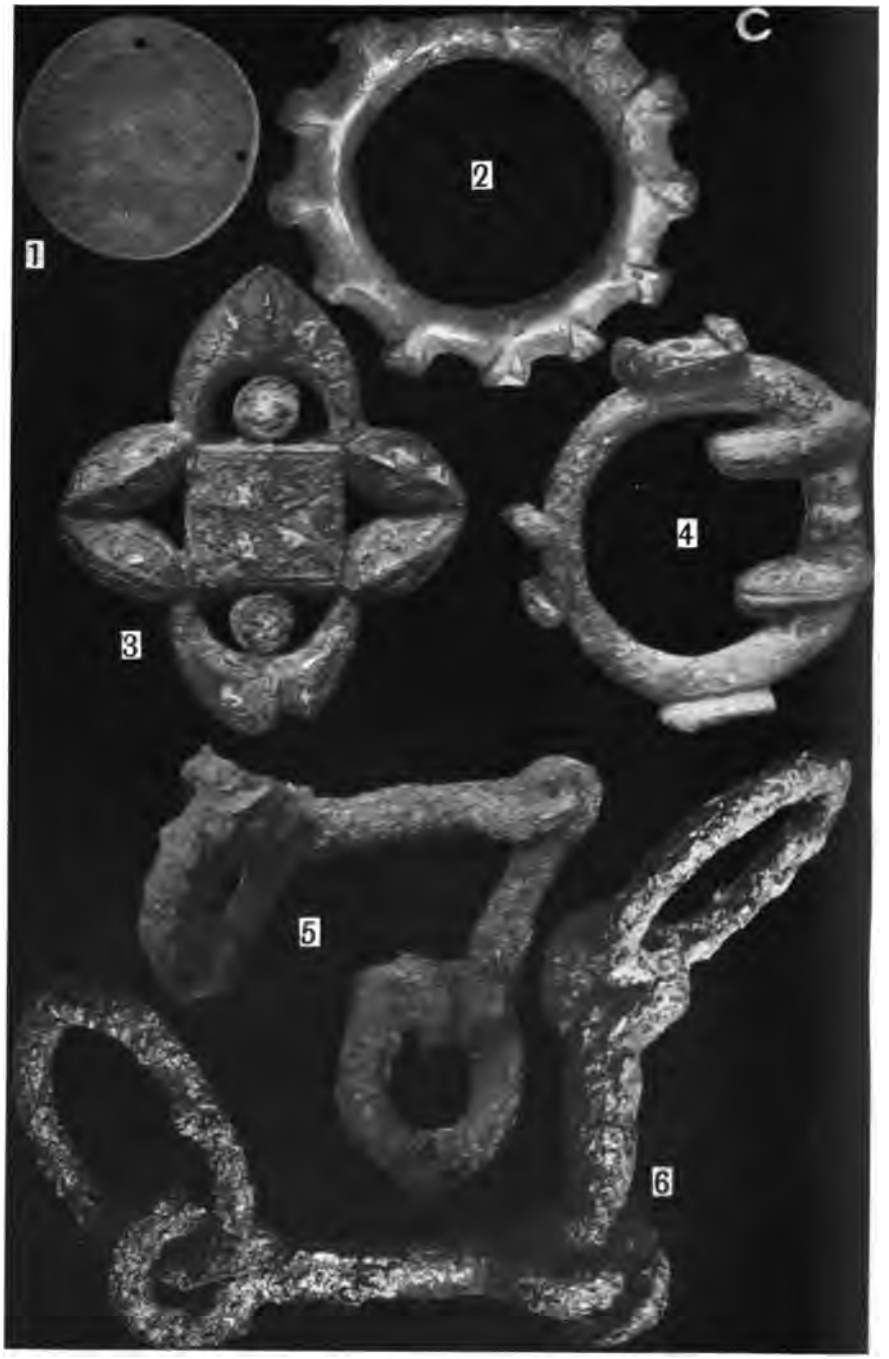
[1] *Handbuch*, pp. 286, 292.
[2] *Les Arts Industriels*, etc., p. 263.
[3] *Der Reihengräberfund*, p. 3.
[4] *Saxon Obsequies*, p. 16.

spurs are known, but they are generally of the Danish period; an iron one was however found at Sittingbourne, and judging from the objects of VI that accompanied other interments on the site it may be ascribed to an early date. Another iron prick spur was found at Lymne, Kent.[1] The best attested example however is a third of the same kind that came to light in the cemetery, dating about the first half of VI, at Linton Heath, Cambs, where it appeared in company with an early cruciform fibula and fragments of buckles that may have belonged to its attachments to the foot.[2] Fig. 16 shows the Lymne (a) and the Linton Heath (b) iron prick spurs, and with them a more ornate example in bronze (c), found at Pakenham near Ixworth, Suffolk.[3] Here the eyes of the creatures that occur on the terminals are incrusted with blue vitreous paste, and the piece may quite probably be of Saxon date.

The stirrup, when it occurs in this country, is apparently always of the Viking age. The iron horse's bit is sometimes found in graves of the pagan period or of VII. Two examples, very similar in their make, are shown Pl. c, 5, 6. One is from Bifrons cemetery in the K.A.S. Museum at Maidstone, the other, No. 5, was found at Market Overton, Rutland, and is now at Tickencote Hall. Pl. c, 1, is a copper coin of the Emperor Nero found in the Gilton cemetery, Kent, riveted to a piece of iron that seemed to have formed the side piece of a bridle, and on this discovery Charles Roach Smith has the following note. 'The warrior, whose remains occupied this grave, had decorated his horse's head gear with one of the large brass coins of Nero. In the deposit with the body of horse furniture may be noticed an expiring vestige of an ancient custom of the Germans in burying the war-horse with his master, as related by Tacitus, *De Mor. Germ.*, c. XXVII. Only a few instances of this custom have been met with in the Anglo-Saxon burial places.'[4]

[1] Roach Smith, *Richborough*, etc., p. 260.
[2] *Arch. Journ.*, XI, 95.
[3] *Ass.*, III, 119.
[4] *Inv. Sep.*, p. 27.

HORSE TRAPPINGS



3, 4, are probably British

NECKLET

HORSE TRAPPING





1, rather more than $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size; 2, slightly reduced

Ornamental horse trappings are illustrated on Pll. c, c1. Pl. c, 2, was found at Fairford, Gloucestershire, and is labelled a fibula, but it is much more likely to be part of a horse's furniture. It is a bronze ring $1\frac{3}{16}$ in. internal diameter with a very knobby external circumference. Pl. c, 3, 4, are two pieces from a remarkable find of 1840 at Saham Toney, Norfolk, in the form of a series of bronze horse trappings, many of which bear traces of enamelling in bright colours. The technique and the character of the work are alike indicative of Romano-British rather than of Anglo-Saxon craftsmanship, and there is no evidence as to whether or not the objects were found in Anglo-Saxon surroundings. The form of Pl. c, 4, is curiously like that of a similar object in bronze found at Chessell Down in the Isle of Wight and figured as no. 49 on one of the plates in George Hillier's *History and Antiquities of the Isle of Wight*, but such pieces when they occur in Anglo-Saxon graves must be regarded as survivals. The object shown Pl. c1, 2, is one piece out of a set found in the King's Field, Faversham, Kent, and represents the most ornate treatment of this class of objects illustrated in the cemeteries. It is of gilded bronze about $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter and has on it late ornamentation which would bring its date well on in VII.

PERSONAL ORNAMENTS—NECKLETS

The adjuncts of the clothing in the form of objects of personal use carried in different ways at the waist have now been briefly reviewed, and in connection with these the survey has been extended to embrace a notice of some of the miscellaneous objects which occur sporadically in interments and indicate, it may be, the occupations or tastes of the deceased. The notice represents to some extent a digression, from which we now return to the subject naturally following that of dress, and the next sub-heading in our inventory of tomb furniture is that of objects of personal adornment not forming a part of

the clothing, such as necklets, pendants, bracelets, ear-drops, and finger rings.

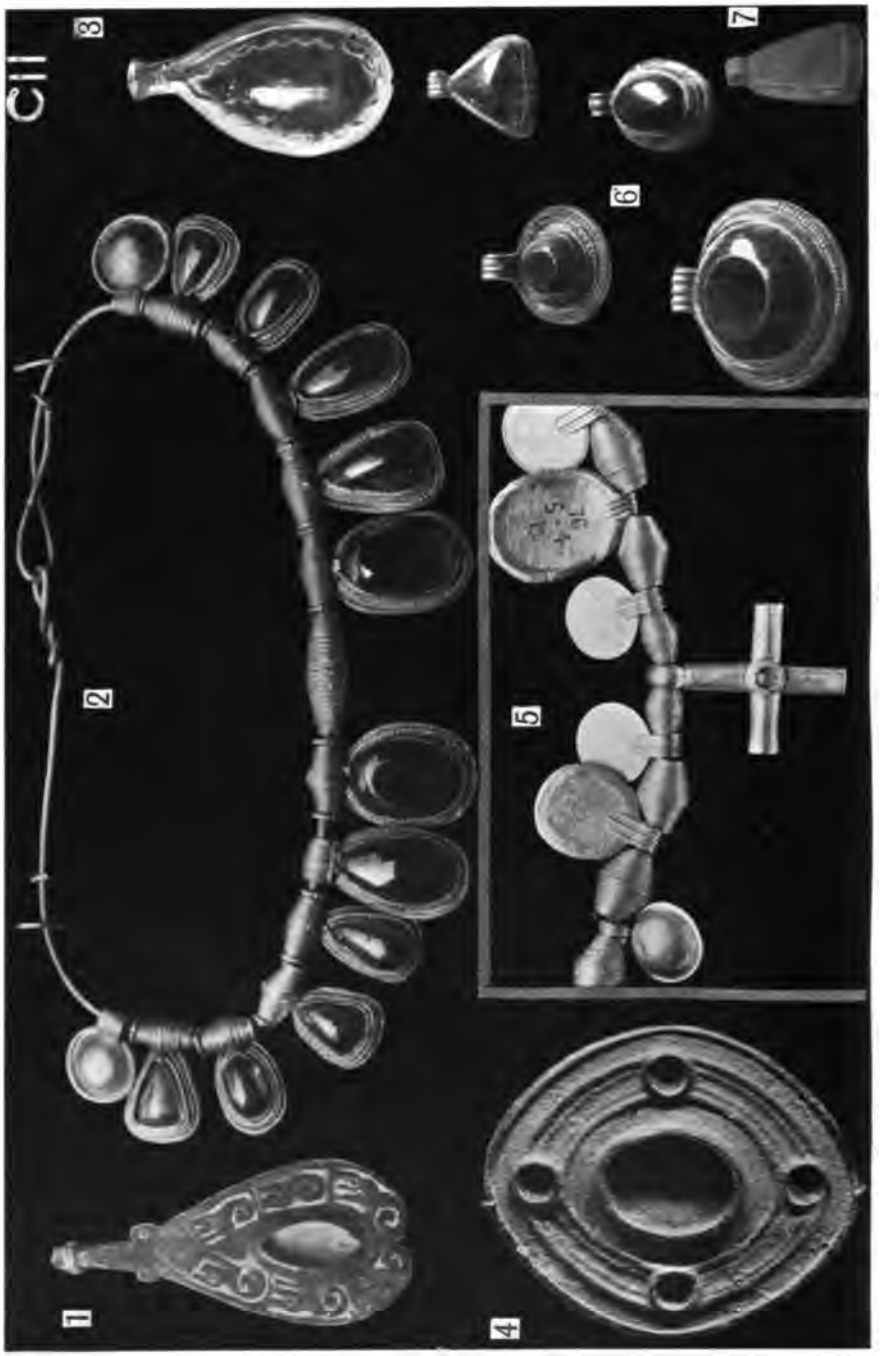
It has been noted above that waistbelts or diadems of wrought or jewelled gold, though they occur occasionally in the migration period, have not come to light in Anglo-Saxon sepulchres. On the other hand necklets of conspicuous worth and beauty are in evidence in British collections, and with these are associated numerous and varied pendants that are quite a special feature in our cemeteries.

A neck ornament of a type unique in Anglo-Saxon tomb furniture is shown Pl. CI, 1, rather more than half full size. It is a collar of beaten silver, reminiscent of the golden lunulae, common in the Early Bronze Age in Ireland and found occasionally in Great Britain and on the Continent, that are dated provisionally by Mr. George Coffey[1] at 1200 to 1000 B.C. Whether or not the form be directly influenced by these lunulae might be doubted, and the resemblance may be due merely to coincidence, but it is sufficiently striking to merit notice.

A prominent place must be assigned to a couple of necklets of gold with garnet settings found, the one at Desborough in Northants, the other in a tumulus on Brassington Moor, Derbyshire. They each consist in a number of round, square, oval, or triangular garnets cut and polished with rounded faces, so as to make them what would be called in popular language carbuncles, each stone being enclosed in a gold setting furnished at the top with a gold loop, so that it can be strung. In the Derbyshire necklet, Pl. CII, 2, this loop is barrel shaped and of a length about as great as the width of the stone ; in the one from Desborough similar barrel-shaped pieces are strung like beads in between each two of the pendants. The former piece has nothing in the centre but an elongated barrel-shaped bead of gold longer than the rest, while the middle place in the other is taken by a pendant cross with straight arms, jewelled in the centre. The Brassington Moor pendants are

[1] *The Bronze Age in Ireland*, Dublin, 1913, p. 47 f.

PENDANTS OF ROMANO-BRITISH STYLE



All approximately natural size

in the Museum at Sheffield. The Desborough necklet is in the British Museum, and is figured in the *Victoria History*, Northants, I. Pl. CII, 5, shows the centre of it with the cross, some of the pendants, which resemble the Brassington Moor ones, being turned back to show the reverses and the intermediate barrel-shaped pieces.

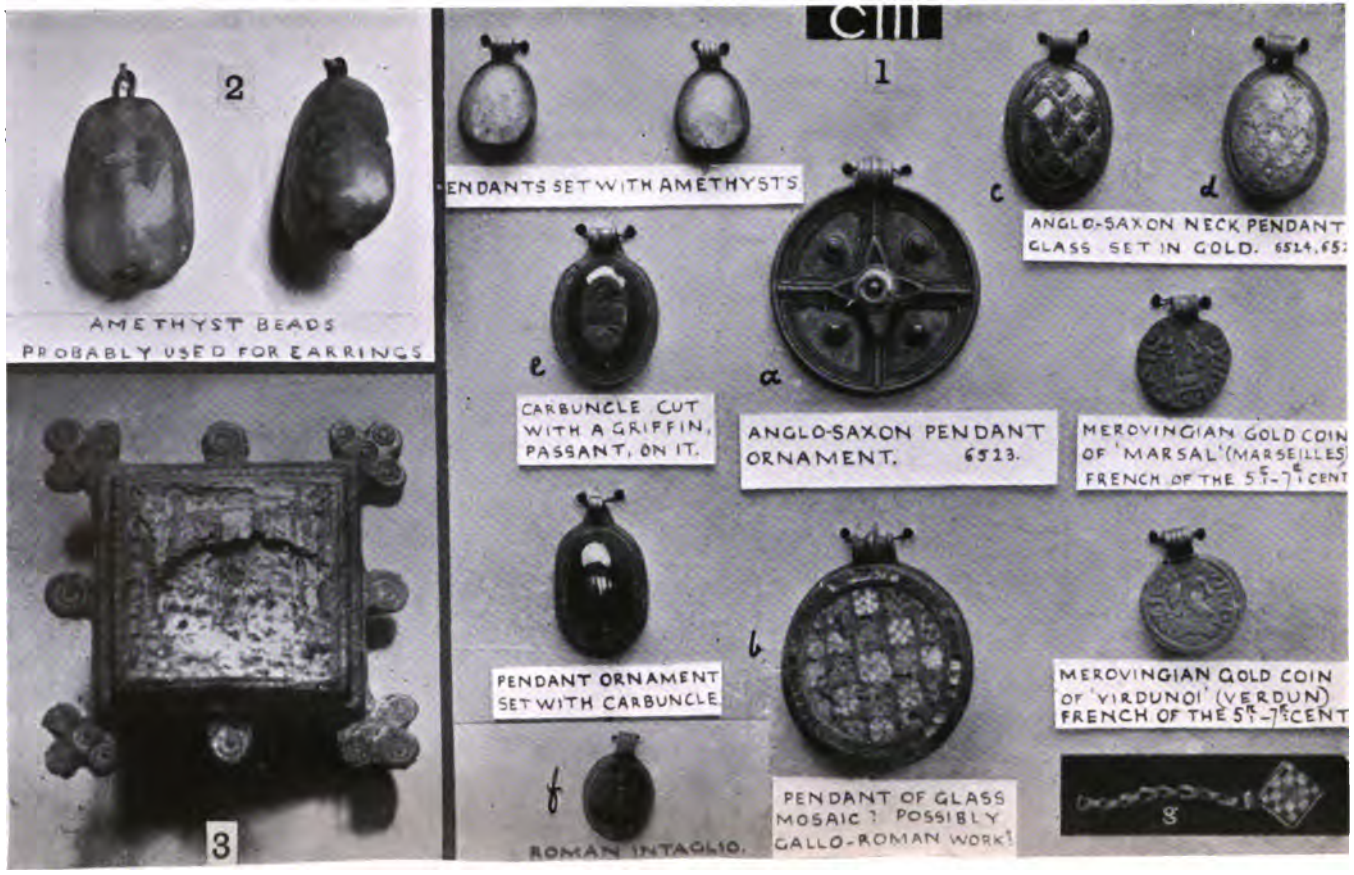
With the Desborough and Brassington Moor pendants must be taken the objects of the same kind that were found with the pin suite in the tumulus on Roundway Down, Wilts, and were shown Pl. LXXXI, 3 (p. 371). There are the same barrel-shaped gold beads, one large round garnet, to the left of the figure 3, and three oval-shaped garnets set en cabochon, a large triangular paste of dark colour $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. high and a small round paste also mounted for suspension, and with them must be taken the central ornament between the two pins, part of the same find, shown Pl. LXXXI, 2 and in an enlarged form in front and back views Pl. LXXXI, 4. This ornament has at the back embossed on the gold plate an interlacing pattern apparently not zoomorphic, and set in the front a bean-shaped disc of dark coloured glass paste $\frac{9}{16}$ in. in diameter, that has had a pattern scored into it as if it were a plate prepared for champlevé enamel. Whether the sinkings thus formed were ever filled in with enamel pastes of differing colour cannot be certainly determined, but the technique would in this case resemble one exemplified on the Ardagh Chalice,[1] which is of course Irish work. The form of the pattern is worthy of special attention. The step-motive, so much employed in the formation of the cloisons for Kentish inlaid jewellery, is prominently in evidence, and there is formed an equal-armed cross, with another minute cross patée in the central round where the two arms meet, wherein it is hard not to discern Christian significance. At the ends of the chains where the pins are attached is the familiar horse's head of Teutonic art, in a form decidedly degraded.

[1] Miss Stokes, *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, Dublin, 1911, p. 72.

The provenance and date of these objects have often been discussed, and the Christian symbol in the centre of the Desborough necklet, which is not a mere ornament but clearly possesses religious significance, has played a conspicuous part in the controversy. There are two possibilities, one that the pieces are relics of Romano-British Christianity, in which case they might either be dated some time before the coming of the Teutons in the last half of V, or might represent a later survival of British craftsmanship possible in regions such as the Peak or the Forest of Elmet; and the other that it is a product of converted Saxondom of the latter part of VII. The problem involved is one of no small difficulty. It may be pointed out that the style of the necklets is more Roman than Anglo-Saxon. To judge from Anglo-Saxon tomb furniture in general the only part of the country where such jewelled objects would be likely to be made is Kent, and the Kentish goldsmith preferred as a rule to set flat garnet slips in shaped cloisons, as Pl. CII, 7, rather than to mount rounded 'carbuncles' en cabochon. It is true that Kentish graves have produced sundry pendants in which these rounded carbuncles are set in gold, but these may be explained on the same theory of a Romano-British survival which is possible in the case of the necklets now under consideration.

Pll. CII, 3, 6; CIII, 1, show a selection of these Kentish pendants, and the photographs may be supplemented by a reference to plate IV of the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, where these and other objects of the kind are figured in colour. Pl. CII, 3, is from Stowting and measures about $1\frac{3}{16}$ in. in its longest dimension, the four marked 6 are from Barfriston, grave 48. From Sibertswold, grave 172, comes the gold disc with filigree and garnet inlays Pl. CIII, No. 1, a, the design of which is decidedly Germanic. From the same grave come the three remarkable trinkets No. 1, b, c, d, as well as some Merovingian gold coins of the triens kind mounted for suspension. There is no reason to suppose the grave earlier than say the latter

KENTISH PENDANTS, ETC.



1, slightly reduced; 2, 3, a little enlarged

half of VI with which date would agree the jewelled pendant, a, but the carbuncle and amethyst pendants, one, No. 1, e, set with a Roman engraved gem, resemble closely the jewels of the Desborough, Brassington Moor, and Roundway Down necklets, and are of a form much more Romano-British than Saxon. It is of course a question whether, assuming them to be Romano-British, we should regard the jewels merely as objects accidentally surviving from the older epoch just as the Roman coins survived, or as the work of craftsmen of British descent spared by the invaders and continuing to employ their skill on traditional work in the service of the conquerors.

There is some reason to regard as Romano-British one or two brooches of an oval form and set with oval shaped stones probably en cabochon. One was found at Long Wittenham, Berks, and is shown Pl. CII, 4. It is in the British Museum. Another came from Frilford in that same county. The work of the setting of Pl. CII, 4, is entirely classical and non-Germanic, and the piece is almost certainly to be accounted for on one of the two suppositions just suggested. A very interesting pair of objects among the Bifrons finds has much significance in this connection. These are two oval bronze pendants that were evidently once set with oval stones en cabochon as in the case of the Long Wittenham brooch. The borders however are here worked in repoussé with naturalistically treated animals of an early type. One is shown Pl. CII, 1. The explanation which suggests itself is that a Jutish craftsman was copying the practice of the older artists and assimilating his work to theirs with the addition of his own characteristic animal ornament. There is a row of quaint animals all similar with open jaws, an eye, a forepaw and a body curling up behind into a scroll. There is not a sign of the interlacing that comes in with the beasts of Salin's 'Style II' in VII, and the piece may date early in VI.

The three Sibertswold pendants Pl. CIII, No. 1, b, c, d, are specimens of work in glass, and it is in the highest degree

unlikely that they were made in this island. They are in all probability the product of Gallo-Roman workshops on the other side of the Channel, and would date in III or IV A.D. They will be noticed again on a later page (p. 444 f.) in connection with the subject of glass beads with which their technique associates them. The subjects of pendants generally must be taken up on a subsequent page; those here noticed are only a special class that form at any rate at times the constituent elements of a necklet, and are of account in connection with the Celtic and Roman features which they display.

The question thus raised of the Romano-British elements in Anglo-Saxon work cannot be discussed without reference to the scutcheons on bronze bowls mentioned in the Introductory Chapter (p. 53) as exhibiting Celtic motives of enrichment. These will be noticed later on in the next chapter (p. 475 f.). Here however a word may be said as to the probable date and provenance of the necklets and other jewels of which there has just been question.

The glass pendants and the Long Wittenham oval jewel are of no special significance, as the first are imported, the latter a survival. The pendants or jewels with carbuncles en cabochon are most probably products of Anglo-Saxon craftsmanship but are certainly influenced by Romano-British models though not necessarily by the contemporary activity of surviving Romano-British workmen. They are of the Christian period in VII. The same date will serve for the Roundway Down pins and jewels and for the Little Hampton pin suite, figured Pl. LXXXI, 1 to 4. The former pin suite is a crucial example. The pins themselves with their inset carbuncles would suggest the early part of VII. The horses' heads terminating the chains are Saxon rather than Celtic and they appear in a debased and therefore late form, while there can be little doubt that the same motive, still more degenerate, explains the form of the connecting links in the Little Hampton suite. The central jewel of the Roundway Down example is

BEADS



1, 2, slightly reduced ; 3, reduced nearly to ½ natural size

a piece of capital importance quite unique in Anglo-Saxon tomb furniture, but it is an imitation by a Teutonic craftsman of a distinctly Celtic technique, and only a tentative imitation, for the sinkings are too shallow to have really held a differently coloured enamel paste. The interlacings on the back and the cross motives on the face indicate a date in VII, and in this connection a comparison is instructive with the sceat coin device shown Pl. VI, 17 (p. 85). The two are curiously alike, save for the little cross in the central round, and of course the coin is at the earliest of VII. Such imitations of an unfamiliar technical process suggest something more than the existence as survivals of pieces that could serve as models, they appear to indicate some living perpetuation of Celtic craftsmanship even in the midst of Anglo-Saxondom. This one unique piece would not be sufficient to give this suggestion any weight, but the existence of the enamelled scutcheons at once lends it significance. These as we shall see belong undoubtedly to VII and attest the presence at the time in the Teutonized parts of Great Britain of activity in work of a distinctively Celtic kind. How this is to be explained historically is another matter.

The characteristic necklet of the migration period is that formed of beads. Strings of variegated glass beads, with those made up of amber and more rarely of other mineral, animal or vegetable substances or of metal, are the almost constant accompaniments of the richer female interments both in our own country and abroad. Next to ourselves the peoples of the Rhineland and northern Gaul seem to have been specially fond of these attractive trinkets, but their diffusion both as regards localities and time is very wide. They have never yet been made the subject of any really searching investigation but upon certain general points in regard to them antiquaries of our own and of past generations are on the whole in agreement.

It will be sufficient here to give in the first place an idea of the principal kinds of beads found in Anglo-Saxon graves in different parts of the country, with some notes as to their numbers and the positions on the body in which they presented themselves, and next to furnish any general information on the whole subject that seems trustworthy.

Beads are found practically in all the Teutonized parts of the country from Corbridge on the Tyne and Darlington to Kent, in which district, as is the case with tomb furniture generally, they are specially abundant. It has been noticed however that there is a curious dearth of them in the cemeteries of Surrey.[1] The illustrations, Pll. CIII to CVI, and the coloured Plates, B, II (p. 353) and C, I, II, the Frontispiece to this volume, will give an idea of the form and aspect of these beads in their different varieties. It should be premised that in the case of items of exceptional size it may be doubtful whether they were worn pendant-wise as part of a necklet or were not rather spindle whorls, or employed for some other special purpose, and Mr. Reginald Smith has suggested[2] that large single beads found in the graves of warriors were probably used with sword knots, see Pl. XXVII, 5 (p. 221).

Considerable variety was exhibited by beads found recently in the Kentish cemetery at Broadstairs, Thanet. A long string of them, of course from several different graves, is shown, rather less than full size, Pl. CIV, I, and the following brief description gives an idea of their kinds. Starting from the right hand lower corner at A we note 15 solid beads[3] of amber-coloured glass, averaging in length about $\frac{3}{8}$ in. Next follow at the top of the illustration and down towards the left, from B to C, seven variegated beads of opaque vitreous pastes, with the forms of a cube $\frac{1}{2}$ in. square, the third from B; a cylinder, the fourth from B; a flattened disc; a barrel.

[1] *Victoria History*, Surrey, I, 266. [2] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XXII, 55.

[3] That is, solid with the exception of the hole through which they are strung.

The mass of the bead in examples of this kind is very commonly terra-cotta colour though the material is not baked clay but a hard vitreous substance,[1] and there are in it white or yellow inlays in fanciful shapes the variety of which is inexhaustible. The coloured illustration Pl. B, 11 (p. 353) gives a number of beads of this kind in the Museum at Munich and no further description of them is here necessary as the question of their technique must be subsequently considered. Others of the same general pattern are seen Pl. C, 11 (Frontispiece) at the top and to the right. They are in the Museum at Brussels. The three large beads in shape like a flattened sphere in this illustration are of a somewhat different kind, and the substance is a semi-transparent greyish glass inlayed in a fashion to be afterwards described.

Returning to the Broadstairs set, from where these seven variegated beads end at C down to the lowest part of the illustration at D, there are about 30 smaller self-coloured beads, solid save for the opening through which they are strung, of cylindrical, globular or flattened form, averaging about $\frac{1}{4}$ in. to $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in their longest dimension, and coloured dark or light blue, white, red, yellow, or pale green. A small set of beads of much the same nature was found at Corbridge, Northumberland, in 1908 and it is shown Pl. CIV, 2. Similar beads in considerable numbers are figured in their natural colours on the Frontispiece, Pl. C, 1. This illustration is from the Mayer-Faussett collection at Liverpool, and the examples were all found in Kent. The variety in the colours as well as in the shapes and sizes of the attractive little objects is

[1] Sir Woolaston Franks noticed about the beads found at Saxby, Leicestershire, that 'all the beads were of amber or different forms of glass, and not of earthenware, a material used for beads only among the Greeks and early Etruscans,' *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XIII, 335. This rejection of terra cotta as a material for beads of the migration period appears to be justified, though foreign writers still speak of earthenware. The small beads in the centre of No. 1 on the Frontispiece to this volume look like terra cotta but on examination have been found to be vitreous.

a cause of their popularity and explains the brisk demand that was ever being met by something novel and alluring. In the midst of these beads are seen in the illustration three comparatively large amethyst drops, that are a feature in Kentish burials, see Pl. CIII, 2. The Museum at Canterbury has a fine set of them, and seven were found at Broadstairs. These amethyst beads are an inheritance from Rome, and the Romans borrowed the fashion of them from ancient Egypt.

Continuing the inspection of the Broadstairs beads, at the beginning of the rise towards the right at D we find in the half-dozen largish white cylindrical and spherical beads, D to E, objects of a very curious kind. The two lowest are fossil sponges of a minute size found in the local chalk formation, and the next four are fossil encrinites from the same source. At Folkestone similar fossils that can be identified by their ribbed surface were found strung with amber beads in a necklet. This is interesting as showing that the people did not entirely depend for their necklets on imported wares, and in this connection notice may be taken of the use by the Germanic craftsman of the material shell. Portions of sea shells cut from the solid valve-parts of the double shell, or wherever the substance was of sufficient thickness, were used sometimes in necklets, and some pieces strung with beads at Liverpool seem to be of this substance. The clearest case however is the example figured Pl. CV, 7, found in a 'terp' near Dokkum in Friesland and now in the Museum at Leeuwarden, where in between the spherical beads of ordinary type there occur round white discs that are undoubtedly of shell, for they show on one side hollows which prove that they were cut from concave surfaces. The matter has some importance in connection with the question of the nature of the white substance that is so commonly used in Kentish jewellery as a setting for small carbuncles, and will be returned to on a later page (p. 544).

After the fossils on Pl. CIV, 1, there is a series of small

facing p. 433

BEADS, NECKLET FASTENINGS, ETC.



Most objects approximately natural size
7 is Continental

globular beads, E to F, followed by some long thin cylindrical ones that terminate the series at G. The character of the work here is in the main of a different kind. Many of the globular beads are double ones and there is one triple one just before the continuous row of pipe-shaped beads that descend towards the end of the whole string. These globular beads are hollow with thin walls of transparent glass, iridescent, or shining with what has been called a 'nacrous lustre.' The shimmer of the surface of them is often like gold or silver which has led to the supposition that they were actually gilded or silvered inside. Such a process was well known in antiquity, and Otto Tischler dated beads in which a leaf of gold was enclosed between two layers of transparent glass as far back in Egypt as IV B.C. In Roman times they were made and imported into the north.[1] All the same the probability is that the small hollow beads now in question were not really silvered or gilded but owe their metallic glitter to the decomposition of the glass, which has in other cases often added to the material an indescribable charm (p. 485).

After these globular beads the series ends with about a dozen slender cylinders, some $\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, plain, striated with parallel ridges, or else perhaps coiled like spiral springs, that are sometimes referred to as 'bugles.'

Beads of an exceptional kind not hitherto noticed must now have a word. Some of these are of bronze, silver and gold. Of the latter metal an example, hollow and shaped like a double cone about $\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, was found at Market Overton, Rutland, and is now at Tickencote Hall. It is shown a little enlarged Pl. cv, 2. Of silver, also in the form of double cones, are two from Kingston, Kent, grave 241, each $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. long, Pl. cv, 3. One has its end firmly fixed in an ordinary spherical bead, and the two kinds, metal and

[1] Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertume*, p. 128. Some small beads of this kind, in which the gold leaf is clearly visible between two layers of thin glass, at Colchester, are shown Pl. cvi, 5 (p. 439).

glass, may have alternated. Far more elaborate silver beads were found in the Saffron Walden cemetery, Essex, but are of Viking date, see Pl. XVI, 2 (p. 171). At Cambridge a small string of ordinary beads has on it two bronze tubes, $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. long, Pl. CV, 1 ; they were found at Barrington. In this connection reference may be made to objects of a somewhat enigmatical character in the form of flattened bronze tubes, many of which were furnished by the cemetery at Bifrons. They have come to light elsewhere also, and a specimen from Barrington, Cambs, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, is given Pl. CV, 4, as it shows that these curious objects were common to Anglian and Jutish areas. This specimen is figured of the natural size, the three Bifrons pieces, No. 5, being somewhat reduced. It was found at the neck of a skeleton together with beads, and the tubular form suggests that the objects were strung together or alternated with other articles. In one of the graves, tumulus VI, opened by Douglas on Chatham Lines eight or ten of these tubes were found in such positions that they are put together on his plate (pl. 6) and inventoried as 'detached fluted appendages of a brass girdle.' There was with them what looks like a bronze fastening, and the whole was found near the base of the spine of the skeleton of a female. The puzzle of the objects is their form, which shows in front a pointed lip projecting beyond the mouth of the tube at the back, see Pl. CV. 6. It will be remembered perhaps that the enigmatical object found at Croydon and figured Pl. XCIX, 4 (p. 419) is made up of tubes shaped in this same fashion, so that it is clear they were employed in other connections than as part of a necklet or girdle. They are evidently early.

At Barrington also was found, what is almost unique, bronze fastenings attached to the ends of a string of beads. Pl. CV, 9, shows them a little reduced. The scarcity of such finds gives colour to the suggestion by George Hillier[1] that the bead necklets were fastened by tying. In the Report on

[1] *History, etc., of the Isle of Wight*, p. 34.

the discoveries at Kempston, Beds,[1] it is stated that in a certain bead was found 'a portion of the very string by which it had been suspended, composed of hemp, and consisting of three strands very carefully and closely laid.' The great majority of the strings of beads were evidently worn at the neck, but apparently not always *round* the neck, for on this we have an explicit statement from the careful explorer of the cemetery at Sleaford, Lincolnshire, Mr. G. W. Thomas. The strings of beads, he tells us,[2] 'were not used in the sense which is understood by the word necklet, but were simply festoons of beads, in many instances double ones, extending from one shoulder to the other, supported on either side by a fibula or pin. . . . The position of the skeletons laid on their sides enabled me to ascertain that all the beads were in situ in front of the body, and none of them either under or behind the vertebrae, which must necessarily have been the case, if they had encircled the neck.' This is only one of several peculiarities which seem to mark the denizens of the Sleaford cemetery as a people of special customs unlike those of the Angles in general. As a rule the beads were worn in ordinary necklet fashion, but besides these there were smaller strings that encircled the arms, and beads were also strung, singly or in twos and threes, on silver wires to be worn as ear pendants, or fastened to the dress in some way as decorative adjuncts. In a very richly furnished grave at Kempston, opened March 19, 1864,[3] there was a circle of beads 4 in. in diameter round the upper arm of a skeleton that wore also an ample necklet. At Broadstairs out of 59 beads mostly of amber in a certain grave 46 were near the head and 11 round the right arm.

The appearance of beads in male interments—other than the possible sword knots—has been more than once signalized (pp. 746, 786); the bead string with bronze fastenings Pl. cv, 9, is said to have been found in a man's grave, but the evidence

[1] *Assoc. Soc. Reports*, 1864, p. 292. [2] *Archaeologia*, L, 387.
[3] As above, p. 296.

in this and other cases seems to be rather doubtful, and it is a safe general rule that beads imply a female interment.

The number of beads in a single grave is sometimes very large, and among the Anglo-Saxons this is specially marked. Lindenschmit[1] and the author of the Reichenhall Report of 1890[2] both give 30 as the average number for Ripuarian and Alamannic graves though they say that this is sometimes more than doubled. The following are some statistics about Anglo-Saxon finds. With a child's body at Broadstairs there were 100 glass and amber beads. The two cemeteries at Sarre and Bifrons, Kent, furnished to the collection at Maidstone no fewer than 37 bead necklaces, and they average 53 beads each. At Holdenby, Northants, 130 beads were found on a single skeleton. Two graves on Chessell Down in the Isle of Wight contained 100 in each, and throughout the cemetery 'in only one case did it occur that a small number were found.'[3] At Kempston, Beds, the numbers in each grave noted as furnishing beads are the following[4]:—109, 44, 64, 12, 120, 66, 7, 114, 10, 7, 200, 60, 33, an average of 65 in each. At Long Wittenham, Berks, there were reported 270 amber beads in one grave with a female body.[5] At Ipswich, Suffolk, 32 bead necklaces were found, the largest with 108 beads.[6] Barrington, Cambs, yielded up 895 beads from 36 graves, and 120 beads were found round the neck of one skeleton.[7] At Linton Heath, Cambs, one grave contained 141 beads, another 114.[8]

In regard to the question of the provenance of these beads, with which is connected the consideration of their forms and technique, those of amber may be briefly noticed at the outset. Amber as a material for beads is of time-honoured use, and the substance has been often found in this form in British

[1] *Handbuch*, p. 390.
[2] *Reichenhall*, p. 89.
[3] Hillier, *Isle of Wight*, p. 34.
[4] *Ass. Soc. Reports*, 1864, p. 269 ff.
[5] *Archaeologia*, XXXVIII, 334.
[6] ibid., LX, 335.
[7] *Cambridge Ant. Soc. Communications*, V, 11.
[8] Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, p. 54 f.

graves. In a barrow, said to be that of a chieftain, at Upton Lovel, Wilts, no fewer than 1000 amber beads came to light.[1] The chief source of supply of the material from Mycenaean times downwards has been the Baltic coast, where there are extensive beds of the fossil gum that are now most prolific in the region of Samland in East Prussia between Memel and Danzig. Other parts round the Baltic and the North Sea furnish it, and lumps of the material from these beds are found washed up on our own eastern coasts. In view of the extensive and old established trade in Baltic amber, it seems most likely that the amber beads found in Teutonic graves of the migration period were derived from this source rather than from other regions, such as Burma, Roumania, or Sicily, where fossil gums of the kind are met with. The true Baltic amber is to be distinguished by its richness in succinic acid and is sometimes called 'succinite.' Its colour is usually pale, whereas the amber found in the Germanic graves is normally of a dark reddish hue. Long burial is said however to turn the original pale amber a deep red,[2] and the colour of our amber beads need not prevent our assuming for it a Baltic or North Sea origin. The history of the material in Europe makes it on the whole symptomatic of early date when it occurs in tomb furniture. It is so reckoned in Hungary.[3] Some nicely finished spherical amber beads are shown Pl. CIV, 3. The largest is 1 in. in diameter. They were discovered by Thomas Bateman in a tumulus near Wyaston, Derbyshire, and are now in the Museum at Sheffield. The other beads in this necklet of 27 pieces are of variegated glass and are much smaller. A particularly fine piece of amber is a large bead from near Upchurch, Kent, in the Museum at Rochester, Kent, shown Pl. CV, 10. It is $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter and $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. thick and may have been carried suspended as an

[1] Dr. Thurnam, in *Archaeologia*, XLIII, 501.

[2] *Enc. Brit.*, art. 'Amber.'

[3] Prof. Béla Posta, *Archaeologische Studien auf Russischem Boden*, Leipzig, 1905, II, 451.

amulet (p. 406), for amber was held to possess medicinal properties and even those of a mystical kind. At Broadstairs, besides the glass beads on Pl. CIV and the seven amethysts, there were no fewer than 75 amber beads of various shapes and sizes including one large cylindrical one $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter and 1 in. long, that suggests use as an amulet. In the early cemetery at Chessell Down in the Isle of Wight most of the beads found were 'formed of perforated, unshaped lumps of amber.'[1]

Coming now to the various kinds of glass beads, it is to be noted that in dealing with the questions of the provenance and date of these attractive little objects it is necessary to survey a field far wider than that which enclosed in place and time the Teutonic migrations, for beads in all essentials the same were common in the Europe of the later Bronze and early Iron Ages and are abundant on Roman sites. Their wide distribution and the occurrence of similar forms in places far apart go a long way to prove that these beads were not local products but objects of import. The place or places of their manufacture and the medium of their diffusion are alike uncertain, and Professor Hampel laments that owing to the absence of any thorough-going monograph on the subject his own treatment of Hungarian examples possesses 'nur ein bedingter Werth.'[2] What has been said about the beads in this aspect by the latest authority on ancient glass[3] is substantially no more than was known to Otto Tischler a generation ago[4] or to Akerman in 1850.[5] The former states that they must have come from some unknown centre in the East, and it should be recalled that Douglas in his *Nenia Britannica* had said the same thing nearly a century before, suggesting sagaciously Marseilles as their port of entry into the western world. Kisa's work exhibits Egypt as the original

[1] Hillier, *Isle of Wight*, p. 34. [2] *Alterthümer*, I, 460.
[3] Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertume*, Leipzig, 1908.
[4] *Königsberger Schriften*, 1886. [5] *Archaeologia*, XXXIV, 46.

CVI

facing p. 439

BEADS, LATE CELTIC, ROMAN, AND SAXON



5, 6, are enlarged more than twice natural size

home of the glass industry, which flourished there from before the time of the Theban Empire, and from Egyptian, especially Alexandrian, workshops, glass beads as well as other productions in the same material were imported into the West. The following is quoted from his book, p. 110 f. 'The ornamental vitreous beads from Egypt are by far the best known and most widely diffused surviving products of the ancient glass industry. They are found sometimes singly, at other times strung together (as a rule by a later hand) as necklets, breast pendants, and bracelets, from India to the gold coast of Africa, from Pontus to Britain, on the shores of the Mediterranean as well as in the interior of Germany and France, in Celtic lands and in Scandinavia. . . . With these wares, abundant, cheap, and easily carried, the Phoenician, and later on the Greek, Roman, and Syrian merchants carried on a brisk commerce among the unsophisticated barbarians, and Celts and Germans exchanged tin, copper, amber, and furs for the variegated and attractive ornaments, just as gladly as the later Peruvian Indians and the negroes of the west coast of Africa bartered their gold for the wares of Venetian traders. . . . That they hit the taste of the primitive Germans is easily to be understood, for they are really pretty, and through their absolutely boundless variety supplied the ever increasing demand for ornament and finery. . . . The enormous abundance and multiform character of these dainty objects renders it a very difficult matter to sort them out in accordance with their origin, chronology, and methods of fabrication.'

Dr. Kisa[1] thinks that in Roman imperial times, up to the end of I A.D., Aquileia was the chief emporium of Mediterranean wares intended for transport, through the Brenner or over the Julian Alps, to regions north of the Alps, while from II onwards the staple was Massilia, and these wares were now taken up through Gaul and distributed from certain emporia in the Rhineland, notably Trier and Köln. The extent to

[1] *Das Glas*, etc., p. 117.

which Greek or Syrian traders actually carried on this traffic, and the establishment in the lands washed by the Rhine and the Meuse of flourishing factories of glass, are points that will presently be noticed in connection with the glass vessels found in Teutonic graves. How far the Germanic lands in the migration period were supplied with their glass beads from Egypt or Syria, how far from the Roman glass factories in the regions just named, is a matter not easy to decide, and on this a word will presently be said.

The questions of methods of fabrication and of chronology are closely connected, for certain styles were in vogue at particular periods and absent or but slightly represented at others. Beads of the simplest form, the solid ones of opaque glass, such as the examples Pl. CIV, 1, C to D, Pl. CIV, 2, and most of those in the coloured illustration No. 1 on Pl. C, the Frontispiece to this volume, may be of any age and were probably produced in many localities. They were made by coiling a rod of coloured vitreous paste softened by heat round a mandril or metal rod, either in a single turn, or spiral fashion, so as to produce an elongated cylinder. Partial fusion in the furnace followed by rolling on a smooth marble slab would hide the joins and bring the whole to an even surface. In the beads shown in the illustrations, Pl. CV, 13, in the Guildhall Museum, found in Milk Street, City of London, exhibits this technique most plainly in its coiled appearance, but many of the others though smoothed over betray the secret of their manufacture. The surface of a bead thus formed might be diversified by moulding it when soft into projecting ribs like those on a melon, as in the Roman bead found in London, Pl. CV, 12, or the blue-green Roman beads at Colchester, Pl. CVI, 2, or else by ribs applied in relief in the same material. Two fragments of glass beads in the writer's possession show unmistakably these two distinct processes. In one the ribs are laid on in separate pieces, in the other the effect is produced by pressing in the material when soft at intervals with

a blunt-edged instrument. A more advanced method of diversifying the surface was the production of patches, stripes, and markings of another colour like those on the beads Pl. cv, 7, 11 ; Pl. cvi, 1 ; or B to C on Pl. civ, 1. In these cases the substance of the bead was softened by heat and morsels or thin rods and threads of differently coloured glass pressed into it. Sometimes the inlaid portions were allowed to project slightly, but usually the bead while the glass was still soft would be rolled on the smooth marble slab till the inlaid parts were pressed in level with the rest of the surface. Again, the added material might stand out in the form of knobs, as in a specimen to the right of the top line of Pl. C, 11 (Frontispiece).

A common form of marking found at an early date in Egypt and also in the West is that of the eye. A slender rod of coloured glass is wrapped round with a thin layer of glass of another hue. Over that again might be rolled another layer of the original colour and so on, with the result that the whole when seen end on would show a series of concentric circles round a centre. A small length of this composite rod would then be cut off and pressed into the softened surface of the mass of the bead. Examples of the beads thus formed were found in the Late-Celtic barrow at Arras in the East Riding of Yorkshire and are shown Pl. cvi, 1, 1. Such eyes are not characteristic of beads of the Roman and later periods but belong in the main, at any rate in Europe, to the La Tène culture. They do occur however occasionally in Anglo-Saxon, as in other Teutonic graves ; a few are figured on Plate v of the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, and some were found half a century ago at North Luffenham, Rutland. In the late Celtic epoch begins to be used a form of bead that is specially Roman, while it also occurs not seldom in Anglo-Saxon graves. This is the so-called 'melon' bead, of blue glass that has often weathered to green, marked by projecting ribs of the same material arranged like those of the fruit from which it has its name. Pl. cvi, 2, shows a set in the Museum of Colchester

from a local Roman burial of I A.D. The occurrence of such beads, generally singly, in Anglo-Saxon graves conveys the suggestion that the interment is early, and at any rate they are a distinct Roman survival.

To the Roman imperial period belongs a great development of the inlaying technique already described, and the introduction of a new and more elaborate process, the so-called mosaic or 'millefiori' technique. This differs from inlaying in that the pattern is not displayed only on the surface but goes through the mass of the material. This, like inlaying, was an old Egyptian technique developed and perfected at Alexandria, whence the products and to some extent also the processes of the work were introduced into the West. The procedure is in certain respects not unlike that of damascening in the case of the sword blades. There strands of metal of different qualities and textures were welded together side by side and the whole piece was then twisted or doubled or worked up in various ways under the hammer so that the strands formed ultimately rather intricate patterns. Here, in the beads made in mosaic glass, rods or plaques of variously coloured vitreous pastes were laid together and the adjacent surfaces made to adhere by exposure to a nicely adjusted temperature not ardent enough to melt the pieces into a confused mass. This might be in section a flat disc variegated in stripes, rosettes, etc., or in length a bar composed of parallel rods of different colours, and these might be folded, rolled, cut up, or in other ways fashioned by unerring fingers into beads. In these the differently coloured sections of the composite mass would go all through it, just as the glass vases of the imperial period which exhibit the mosaic technique show the patterns coming through from the outer to the inner surface. Specimens of these vessels, identified with the 'Myrrine' vases celebrated by the Roman writers, have been found associated with Teutonic objects of the migration period, as at Sackrau near Breslau. See Grempler, *der Fund*

von Sackrau, Breslau, 1888, I, Taf. VI ; II u. III, Taf. IV. A similar vase in the British Museum is figured Pl. CVI, 4. These true mosaic or millefiori beads are pronounced by Otto Tischler to be the finest beads of all, and he thinks they originated in Egypt about I A.D. Such beads are very rare in Anglo-Saxon graves, but a genuine specimen from Chessell Down in the Isle of Wight, now in the British Museum, is shown Pl. CVI, 3. It is $\frac{3}{4}$ in. across, and the light coloured flowers go right through the whole thickness of the dark vitreous paste in which they are sunk, reappearing in the same forms and colours on the other side.

Of equal or even greater importance for the present purpose are beads which combine the mosaic process with that of inlaying, in that ornamental incrustations each one of which is a mosaic are pressed into the surface of a self-coloured glass bead like those ornamented with the thread or strip inlays in the front of the illustration Pl. C, II (Frontispiece). The process is an interesting one. Coloured rods are laid side by side in a sort of bundle the section of which shows a pattern such as a rosette, or, as is very common, a chequer formed of white and black or blue squares in juxtaposition. The rods are united by heat, and then the whole bundle duly softened in the muffle furnace can be drawn out to any reasonable length required, when with the diameter correspondingly decreasing the pattern as seen in the section grows smaller and smaller while preserving all its elements in their original relations. Slices of the bundle can then be cut, either in a section straight through or, as at times, obliquely, or else in long section so as to form striped lengths, and these can be put together to produce a pattern, glass being fused into the interspaces to keep the whole together ; or can be inlayed separately into the softened surface of a bead or other vitreous mass. Such mosaic inlays come first into vogue, Dr. Kisa says, in the time of the Flavian Caesars,[1] and Otto Tischler ascribed the orna-

[1] *Das Glas im Altertume*, p. 131.

mental use of such inlays on other objects besides beads to II to IV A.D.[1] This technique is later than that of the true mosaic or millefiori beads which are a speciality of the earlier Empire.[2]

The above considerations bear upon the questions of the provenance and date of the Kentish pendants already described and illustrated Pl. CIII, 1, b, c, d (p. 428), to which may be added a tiny pendant set in gold, at Devizes, figured the natural size Pl. CIII, 1, g, and the central pendant of the necklet shown in colour Pl. B, 1 (p. 353). This whole object is of much interest and was found at Sarre, Kent. It consists in a string of coloured beads with large amethysts at the two ends from which are suspended a central pendant in mosaic glass, 1 in. in diameter, and four gold coins, imitation 'solidi' of the Emperors Maurice Tiberius (582-602) and Heraclius (610-641) with one of Chlotaire II, King of the Franks, who died in 629. These coins serve to date the necklet some time at any rate after the accession of Heraclius, that is in the first half, probably the second quarter, of VII. The pendant is of course a survival from an earlier age. This and the Sibertswold pendant Pl. CIII, 1, b, have the surface ornamented with small square panels each of which is filled with chequer work in squares, in the first case of white and light blue, in the second of white alternating with green and violet, each square being less than a millimetre a side. The panels are divided by narrow strips of red or of yellow glass, and the whole in the Sibertswold example is surrounded by a border in which are small closely set flat garnets. Here each of the little panels is a slice from a compound stick made up of sixteen slender square rods, and they are disposed in proper order in a little oval tray formed of the gold setting, the interstices being filled in by fusing plain yellow glass into the spaces between, so that the

[1] *Archiv für Anthropologie*, Bd. 16.

[2] See Tischler's papers on coloured glass and enamel in antiquity, in the *Königsberger Schriften*, for 1886.

whole is incorporated into one mass. It is possible that the square sticks were made in Egypt and imported into Gaul through Massilia and made up there by Romano-Gallic craftsmen who may already have known the technique of the garnet inlay which, as we shall see later on (p. 554), appeared in northern Gaul in IV A.D. The chequer sticks may on the other hand have been made in Gaul, for such elements were often incorporated into the enamel of the bronze brooches that were manufactured so largely in II and III in the district round Namur in modern Belgium. The Museum at Newcastle contains more than one Romano-British or Romano-Gallic piece of the kind, and one of these is shown Pl. CIII, 3. The surface of the bronze was covered with a pattern formed of these tiny mosaic panels. In any case the nicety of handling required in the slicing of the compound stick into the desired sections was nearly as great as that required originally for its formation. The other two pendants, Pl. CIII, 1, c, d, are in inlaid work. Narrow twists of glass of lovely iridescent grey colour are inlaid into a gold coloured ground, the whole surface being in relief.

This technique is certainly not Anglo-Saxon, and in all probability it was not even Frankish but was in the hands of Gallo-Roman glass workers and enamellers, whose operations may in some regions have gone on even when the Franks had made themselves masters of the country. The setting of garnets in the border of the principal pendant is however more Teutonic than Gallo-Roman.

Quite apart from all the kinds of beads just passed in review are the little globular pearls, single, double, or triple, to which attention was called in the Broadstairs set, E to F. Whereas all the beads hitherto noticed are solid save for the hole through which they are strung these globular ones are hollow with thin walls, and have evidently been made by the process of blowing. Probably a hollow cylinder was first formed and this was at intervals nipped round to form the separate

beads which are joined by a narrow neck. This is far more likely than the alternative theory that the little spheres were made singly and then fused together afterwards into a row. See *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XVIII, 318. M. Barrière-Flavy, *Les Arts Industriels*, etc., I, 84, writes of 'grains de verre soufflé, ténus, allongés en étroits cylindres,' etc. A set of these beads in the Cambridge Museum, enlarged to about double the natural size, is shown Pl. CVI, 6. These are double and triple ones, but one from Chessell Down in the British Museum is fourfold. We have thus three principal varieties among the glass beads found in our cemeteries, the plain self-coloured solid ones, the pearly globular blown beads and slender cylinders, and lastly the variegated solid beads.

Enough has been said to make it clear that variegated beads of the most attractive kind were common in the Roman world under the early empire and had been made and known in the East for centuries, even millenniums before. The evidence of the Germanic interments seems however to show that at the epoch of the actual migrations the Teutons had not acquired a taste for these showy trinkets, or at any rate did not obtain them, for the beads found in the earlier graves of the Franks, Alamanni, or Anglo-Saxons are small and simple ones of the kind seen Pl. CIV, 2, or Pl. CV, 8, and the inlaid beads of a large size and conspicuous colouring are only found in the later cemeteries. On the Frankish evidence M. Pilloy[1] and M. Boulanger express themselves very clearly. 'Aux V^e^ et VI^e^ siècles,' writes the latter, 'les perles sont petites ou de grosseur moyenne . . . cependant, aux siècles suivantes, elles augmentent de grandeur. . . . A l'époque carolingienne, les perles sont généralement plus volumineuses qu'à l'époque mérovingienne.'[2] It is probable that the convulsions of the migration epoch put a temporary stop to the importation of these attractive wares into the lands of the north-west, and the people were satisfied with simpler

[1] *Étuaes*, I, 100, 111, 118. [2] *Marchélepot*, pp. 104, 142.

products, such as those from Corbridge, Pl. CIV, 2, which belong to about 500 A.D., or the set from the early cemetery at Holme Pierrepont, Northants, Pl. CV, 8. With one specially early burial, grave 6, at Bifrons, of about 500 A.D., there were '39 small beads mostly of green and blue glass with one large one of amber.'[1] Beads of these modest pretensions, so easily fabricated, and we may add fabricated so casually that the process of joining is readily discernible, need not have been brought from the East but may have been made wherever in the West there were established factories for glass. Such factories existed we know on the Rhine and in Belgium and northern France, and it is to these sources that we must in all probability look for the supply of small self-coloured solid beads in the early days of the Teutonic settlements. The same may be said about the small globular and cylindrical beads already discussed. If these had come from the East the more showy variegated examples would no doubt have come with them and have made their appearance in early Teutonic graves. The globular beads are contemporary with the small solid ones, and are most probably also a western product. The technique of them is inherited from Roman times, for small double and triple blown beads of the kind have often been found on Roman sites. There are some in the Museum at Chesters on the North Tyne, and Pl. CVI, 5, shows a set, the true size and also enlarged, in the Roman collection in Colchester Museum. These are examples of the gilding technique noticed above (p. 433) for a film of gold is confined between two thin layers of glass.[2]

The provenance of the showy variegated beads of the subsequent period, that according to the antiquaries of northern France are in use till the Carolingian period, cannot as we have already seen be fixed with any certainty. They were

[1] *Arch. Cant.*, x, 303.

[2] For the photograph and description the writer is indebted to the kindness of Mr. Arthur G. Wright of the Museum at Colchester.

certainly distributed from one or one or two centres, but there is nothing impossible in the supposition that the glass manufactories of the Rhineland may have had something to do with their fabrication on the lines of the older oriental production. The prevailing opinion however is that they were of oriental provenance, and their appearance in the far North, as in the case of the find in the British Museum from Tromsö within the Arctic Ci e that includes true millefiori beads, is explained on the supposition that they came up directly from the south-east along the old trade routes past Gotland.

CVII

facing p. 449

PENDANTS, COINS, BRACTEATES



1, $\frac{2}{3}$, 2, $\frac{3}{5}$, natural size ; 4, somewhat enlarged ; 6, much reduced ; the rest about natural size

7, 7, 7, are Continental

CHAPTER IX

TOMB FURNITURE: (VI) PERSONAL ORNAMENTS—PENDANTS, BRACELETS, RINGS, EAR-JEWELS; VESSELS—BUCKETS, BRONZE BOWLS, VASES OF GLASS

PERSONAL ORNAMENTS—PENDANTS

THE SUBJECT of the pendant connects itself as we have seen with that of the necklet for this is often composed of elements each one of which would be described by itself as a pendant. Many pendants have in this way already come under notice in the last chapter and several others have been figured and described on earlier pages from the point of view of design or technique. The objects in question may be conveniently divided into the following classes:—

1. Artistic pendants especially those jewelled in the Kentish fashion or ornamented with filigree work in gold.

2. Pendants of the nature of amulets including those of cruciform design.

3. Coins and bracteates.

1. Many objects under this heading have been already noticed. Carbuncle and mosaic-glass pendants have just been discussed (p. 424 f.), pendants in disc form with jewels or filigree work were figured Pl. XI, 1, 2 (p. 117), Pl. LIII, 6, 7, 8 (p. 305) and a handsome one in cast bronze Pl. LXIII, 6 (p. 329). To these may be added the inlaid pendants figured in colour Pll. B, III (p. 353); D, III, 1 (p. 511). The latter has passed with the Mayer collection to the Museum at Liverpool, but is not one of Faussett's pieces. It is exceptional in that it is of gold throughout as the back view of it Pl. D, 1, shows, and it

corresponds in this with the Kingston fibula illustrated on the Frontispiece to Vol. III. Such ornaments as a rule are backed with one of the less precious metals. The front of the piece is shown on an enlarged scale the back being nearer the natural size. The bird form with the hooked beak is noticeable and will be referred to later on (p. 526). The two jewelled pendants previously figured Pl. B, III (p. 353) are exquisite examples of Kentish inlaid work in gold, garnets, and glass pastes, the style and technique of which will be discussed in the next chapter.

2. Here again previous illustrations and descriptions need only be referred to. Pendant crosses were shown Pll. x, 2, 3, 4 (p. 115); CII, 5, and pendants with crosses on them Pll. x, 7; XI, 1, 2, 5. Amulets of another kind also occur. The Cypraea shells which were held to have a mystical efficacy that may be surmised from the name and shape of the objects were worn as pendants, and one, 3 in. long, at Cambridge, is shown suspended from a string of coloured beads, Pl. CVII, 1. The same may be said of large amber beads and masses of rock crystal. A curious kind of talisman is shown Pl. CVII, 6, on a reduced scale. It is apparently a bone of a sheep and was found in the richly furnished grave No. 142 at Kingston in Kent. Akerman publishes a beaver's tooth mounted for suspension and a horse's tooth pierced with a hole for the same purpose, and refers to some other similar amulets.[1] A talon of an eagle was found lately at Alfriston, Sussex, and is shown Pl. CVII, 5. Pl. CVII, 2, is a remarkable object found with a skeleton and an iron knife on the site of Shrewton Windmill, Wilts, and now at Devizes. It is a wheel-shaped disc of cast bronze, $2\frac{5}{8}$ in. in diameter, with a hole in the rim suggesting suspension, and without any attachments or marks on the back of it. The front is stamped with characteristic Anglo-Saxon linear ornaments consisting in triangles and circles (p. 306) and 'S' shaped patterns.

[1] *Pagan Saxondom*, pl. XII and p. 26 f.

3. Coins and their derivatives, the so-called bracteates, form the last class of pendants to be noticed in this place. Coins pierced with holes or mounted with loops for suspension are not uncommon objects, especially in Kent, and are sometimes Merovingian gold coins, and at other times copies in gold of late Roman and Byzantine pieces. They served apparently as ornaments and it is noteworthy that the quasi-superstitious use of the coin in which it was placed in the mouth of the corpse as representing his worldly possessions has not been observed in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. The custom was not unknown among the Franks,[1] and one of the most conspicuous instances of its observance is the cemetery of Abbeville-Hombliéres, described by M. Pilloy in the first volume of his *Études*. Here almost every skeleton was provided with a coin placed either in the mouth or in the hand, and M. Pilloy made the remarkable discovery that in each case the coin appeared to be of the issue of the Emperor reigning at the time of the burial. A chronological series could be followed from one extremity of the cemetery to the other. At Sleaford, Lincolnshire, a young person had been buried with coins in the hand though not in the mouth.

The use of coins in connection with a string of beads is illustrated on the colour Plate B, I, II (p. 353). A set of coins shown Pl. CVII, 3, is of special interest as it is the one reported to have been found in the churchyard of St. Martin's, Canterbury[2] (p. 119), and if it accompanied a Christian interment in the vicinity of that early shrine it would be an interesting link of connection between pagan and Christian sepulchral customs.

The Roman gold coin imported into northern Europe

[1] Or at any rate Franco-Romans. On the character of these early cemeteries of northern Gaul such as Abbeville-Hombliéres and Vermand, see Ch. X (p. 549 f.).

[2] *Coll. Ant.*, I, pl. LV, p. 178. Other references are given, *Vict. Hist.*, Kent, I, 341 note 4.

became the parent there of the bracteate. The bracteate in this sense of the term is an imitation more or less distant of a Roman coin in very thin gold on which a device is stamped[1] so as to appear on the one side in relief on the other in intaglio. Scandinavia is the home of the bracteate, and those specimens that are found in other Germanic lands are held to be either importations from the North or to be due at any rate to northern influence. Some examples from our own country are given Pll. CVII ; E, IV (p. 519). In respect of design the bracteates somewhat resemble the sceat coins, in that, while an ultimate origin in some Roman device can generally be predicated, there is only in some cases any recognizable likeness to a classical prototype. In the majority of instances the representation has become so fantastic that it may be regarded as practically a creation of the barbaric designer, and figures from northern mythology, such as Odin on horseback with his attendant raven, are evolved from the wreck of some classical motive. The limits of date for the bracteates may range from about 450 to 650 A.D.

A few Scandinavian specimens will be found on Pl. LV (p. 309). They are in the Museum at Stockholm and are figured slightly larger than nature. The three smaller ones are not bracteates proper but barbaric imitations of Roman gold medallions for they are of some thickness and stamped with a reverse as well as an obverse design. The heads are fairly well rendered, but the Latin inscriptions are reduced as a rule to a medley of meaningless signs. The bracteates proper are generally much further removed from the original prototypes, and inscriptions in runic characters appear on some of them. The specimen partly seen to the left of Pl. LV has in the centre a device of very frequent occurrence in which a galloping horse is surmounted by a rider reduced merely to

[1] That a stamp was used is shown by the fact that an exact correspondence is sometimes observed between different specimens, which would not be the case were the execution freehand in repoussé.

the presentation of a large human head. The addition of a bird to the picture suggests at once the northern motive of Odin with his raven.

Turning now to English examples we find a specimen comparable with the Stockholm medallions in the bracteate on the colour Plate, E, IV (p. 519). It measures 1¼ in. across and is shown on an enlarged scale. It was found a couple of centuries ago in St. Giles' Field, Oxford, and is preserved in the Ashmolean. The fairly executed head is still near to a Roman original but the ornamental motives round it are of a nondescript kind, and among them it is interesting to find the device of an equal-armed cross with rounded extremities reproducing a motive that can be traced back to the sceat coins (p. 105), and that occurs on some carved stones of the later Saxon epoch in Yorkshire and Cumberland. Sir Arthur Evans claimed this bracteate as probably of native manufacture. Pl. CVII, 4, shows another bracteate found at Market Overton, Rutland, and now at Tickencote Hall. Its diameter is 1¼ in. and the material is gold. This offers an example of the galloping horse and the bird but there is no indication of the head or body of the rider, and Mr. Thurlow Leeds in a note on these two pieces[1] argues that in this case also the probability is in favour of a native origin. Both these examples may be placed in VI and in the first half of it.

On the other hand importation from Scandinavia probably explains the presence in Kentish graves of the bracteates Pl. CVII, 8, 9. The three marked 8, together with a facsimile of the right hand one evidently stamped from the same mould, were found in grave 29 at Bifrons, and the five numbered 9 come from the very richly furnished grave 4 at Sarre, Kent. They are all in the Museum of the K.A.S. at Maidstone and are reproduced on the plate a trifle below the natural size. On all but the left hand one of the Bifrons three the device is that of the dislocated animal already so

[1] *Archaeologia*, LXII, 491.

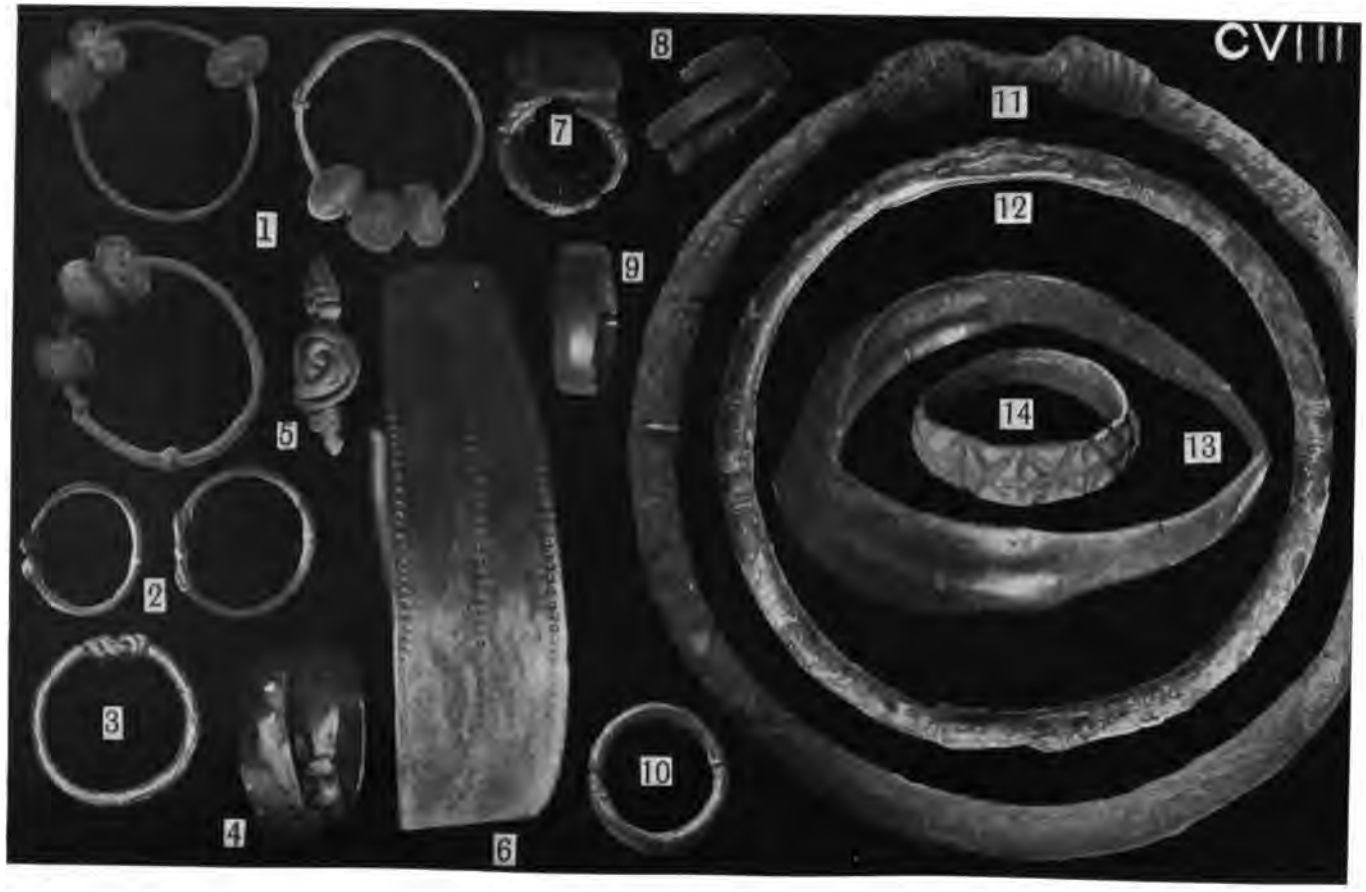
familiar to the reader, and a date well on in VI is indicated. With these may be compared the three marked 7, found in Frisian 'Terpen' and now in the Museum at Leeuwarden. The correspondence between these and the Kentish specimens is almost exact, and the whole set, 7, 8, 9, so closely resembles Scandinavian examples, such for example as those figured on p. 225 of Professor Montelius' *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens*,[1] that an origin in the land of the North can be safely predicted.

The Bifrons piece to the left of the three is quite exceptional and the motive is here a human figure remarkably well rendered, with head, arms, and two legs widely spread.

PERSONAL ORNAMENTS—BRACELETS, RINGS, EAR JEWELS

Following on the subject of pendants comes that of other personal ornaments not forming part of the dress, and including bracelets, finger rings, and ear drops. Under these headings there is nothing of great importance to signalize. In the tomb inventories of the migration period generally the bracelet plays a comparatively small part, whereas in the previous Celtic epoch it was, in some parts at any rate, of the first importance. The Germanic finger ring is of insignificant moment when we take into comparison the immense vogue the ring enjoyed under the Romans. As regards the ear pendant, it was greatly favoured among some branches of the Teutonic stock, and gave occasion to the gold worker to execute some of his tours-de-force in delicate manipulation of the metal and in the setting of gems. The Goths, the Teutonic peoples of Hungary, and the Franks, delighted especially in showy ear jewels, and it is one among so many proofs of the comparative independence in artistic matters of the Anglo-Saxons that this form of personal adornment had little attraction for them, while their neighbours across the

[1] Leipzig, 1906. The examples referred to are numbered fig. 357.



All approximately natural size

Channel paid to it considerable attention. All these trinkets for the arm, the finger, and the ear were worn by the Anglo-Saxons, but their craftsmen never took them up and made a speciality of them, or impressed on them their own artistic individuality. In dealing with other classes of objects, such as the Kentish disc fibulae or the 'long' brooches of the Anglian districts, one feels that the craftsman has brought to the design and execution all the creative impulse, all the deftness of hand, all the patience in toil, with which he had been endowed, and that he has turned out each several piece of work with something of a personal stamp upon it. No such impression do we receive from the objects here under notice, the one exception being a very handsome form of finger ring that comes into vogue in the later Anglo-Saxon period, in which filigree work and the use of niello are much in evidence. These rings will form the subject of discussion in a subsequent volume, but attention may be called to one specimen already noticed as an example of technique. It is figured Pl. LIII, 5 (p. 305).

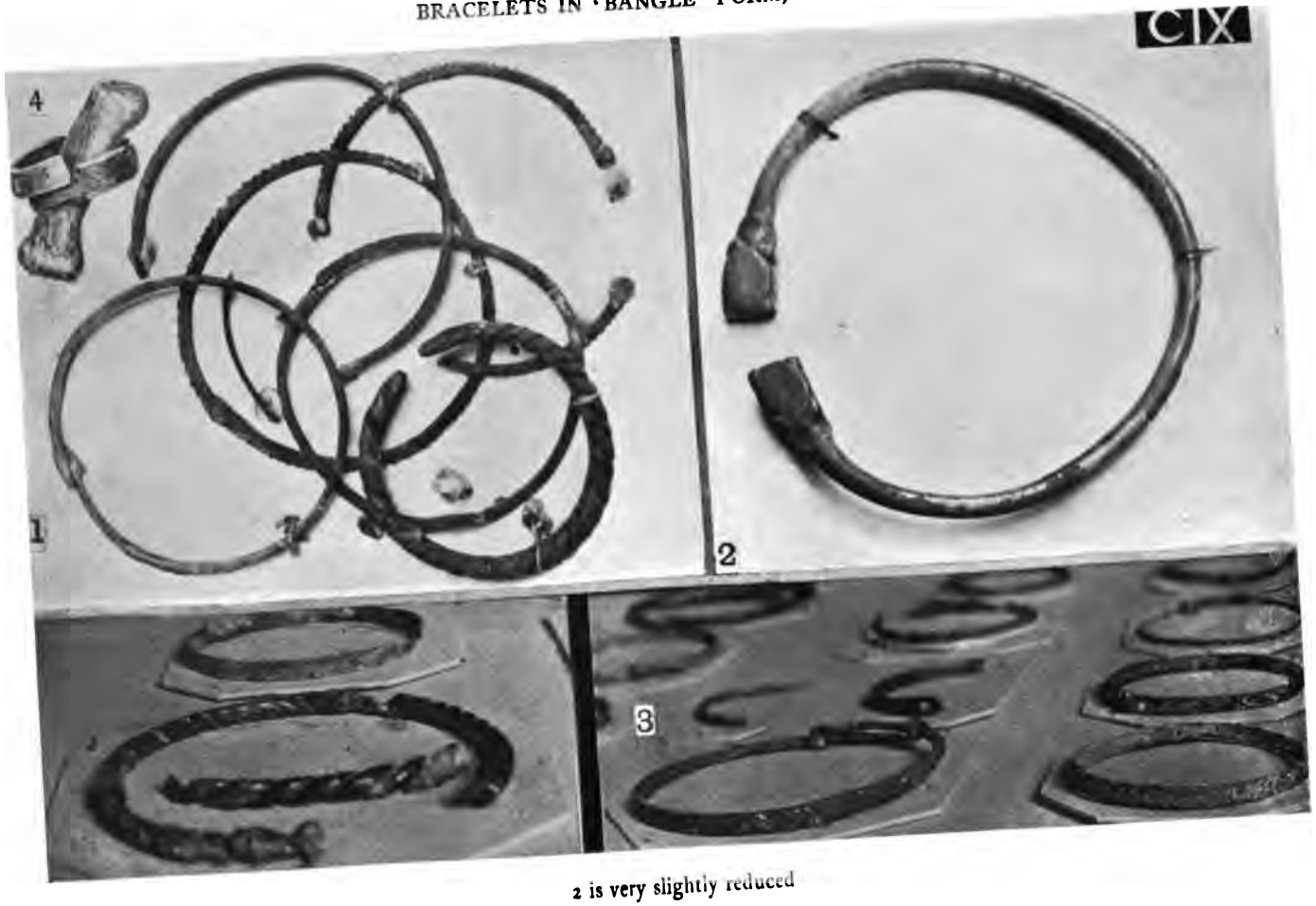
Bracelets formed of strung beads have been referred to (p. 435). One or two small beads are often found threaded on a slender silver wire forming a ring about 1 in. across, and these are sometimes intended for ear pendants. A triplet of examples from Alfriston, Sussex, is shown the natural size Pl. CVIII, 1, though these, with others, seem to have been fixed on the front of a dress. It will be noticed that the silver wire is neatly joined so that the ring could be enlarged or contracted at will. The device is Roman, and rings of the kind imitated from the classical models abound in Kent and are of sizes suitable for the finger, the ear, or the wrist. Simple as they are they may have been worn as ornaments even without the appended bead or beads. An example of a size suitable for an *armilla* is shown Pl. CVIII, 11 from Faversham, Kent, $3\frac{5}{8}$ in. in internal diameter; and others of the size for a finger ring, Pl. CVIII, 2, from Kingston, of silver, and Pl. CVIII, 3, of

gold, at Devizes, found with Anglo-Saxon objects on Salisbury Race Course. All the above are shown of the natural size. A complete circlet suitable for the arm, but more carefully wrought and ornamented with two pairs of animals' heads confronted, passed from the Faversham cemetery to the British Museum and is shown Pl. CVIII, 12. A somewhat similar one from Kingston with three pairs of confronted heads is figured in *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, plate XVI, 10. These last two pieces may be compared with the annular brooches shown Pl. LI, 8, 10, 11 (p. 287).

Another form of metal circlet that might embrace the wrist or the finger is made by hammering out a strip of silver to a flat band that may go round in a single turn or in several revolutions in a spiral. Punched ornament may be added. Pl. CVIII, 6, shows a bracelet of the kind from Warren Hill, Suffolk, in Mr. S. G. Fenton's collection, London, and Pl. CVIII, 13, another in the collection formerly at Trinity College, Cambridge, where the metal has been deeply fluted in order to give it lateral stiffness. A silver ring in the same technique is shown Pl. CVIII, 8, from King's Field, Faversham, and one of gold, Pl. CVIII, 4. This was discovered at Market Overton, Rutland, and has some ornament on it in repoussé. It is somewhat enlarged in the reproduction. It must be noted here in passing that in the Danish period handsome arm rings of a massive kind in silver and others of twisted gold came into vogue, and some found in England will be noticed in a subsequent volume.

That the Anglo-Saxons of the pagan period took no great interest in this form of adornment may be argued from the fact that several forms of the bracelet found in English graves are reminiscent of an earlier epoch. One is the bronze penannular armlet with enlarged ends, resembling a form of the penannular brooch such as that shown Pl. L, 2 (p. 285), but without its pin. This form of brooch is rather British than Anglo-Saxon. The Bifrons cemetery furnished an object of

BRACELETS IN 'BANGLE' FORM, ETC.



2 is very slightly reduced

this kind shown Pl. CIX, 2, that was found in grave 6 with a set of early objects, including the spoon Pl. XCIV, 2, and the plain square headed brooches, Pl. XXXIV, 10, 11 (p. 245), that betoken a date about the year 500. The object is described as a bronze bracelet and was found just above the left wrist of a female skeleton, but Mr. Reginald Smith prefers to see in it a penannular brooch that has lost its pin. There are however penannular bronze bracelets found elsewhere that may be compared with it, as for example one published by M. Pilloy from Fontaine Uterte, Aisne[1]; and two from Reichenhall.[2] A close examination of the Bifrons piece has failed to disclose the slightest trace of the former presence of a hinged pin, so that it may be taken in this place, under reservation, as a bracelet. The internal diameter of the ring is $2\frac{3}{8}$ in.

Another form of bronze bracelet is a survival, or at any rate an inheritance, from Roman times and is of the kind called a 'bangle,' consisting in a slender ring of metal sometimes without opening and at other times closing through its own elasticity or by means of a hook. M. Pilloy publishes a collection of them found in the IV cemetery at Vermand near St. Quentin,[3] and the resemblance of some of them to similar examples in our own country is very marked. They are ornamented in various ways. The metal is sometimes twisted cable-fashion, or when it is in a flat strip linear patterns are cut or filed on the outer face. Pl. CIX, 1, shows a small collection found in 1883 on the ground of the Priory, Dover, and now in the Dover Museum. They were not, so far as is known, accompanied by any Anglo-Saxon objects and are probably Roman. There are many Roman ones in the Hospitium at York.

The most interesting find of these objects was made in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Saffron Walden, Essex, (p. 156) and

[1] *Études*, I, 23, and plate.

[2] *Das Gräberfeld von Reichenhall*, Taf. XVII.

[3] *Études*, II, 262 f. and 'Vermand,' pl. 18.

Pll. XIV, XVI. By the lower part of a skeleton[1] were lying 22 of these bronze rings, the position of which seemed to show that they had not been worn as armlets but had been hung as a sort of chain from the waist. If they be really Roman they may have been carried as trophies or objects of curiosity and their appearance in the grave would seem to show that the interment was an early one. Pl. CIX, 3, gives a general view of the objects which are not easy to photograph, while in Fig. 17 some of the ornamental patterns upon them are figured, together with one or two from the Vermand specimens for purposes of comparison. The diameter of the rings varies from about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. to $2\frac{3}{4}$ in., and this makes it unlikely that they were worn on the person, and impossible that they encircled the ankles after an oriental fashion.

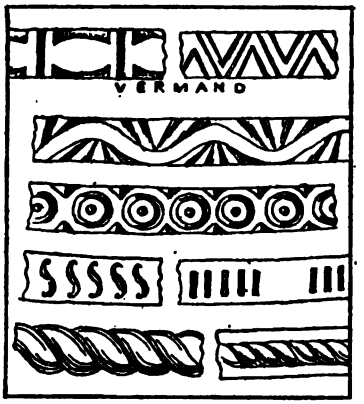


FIG. 17.—Ornaments on Bronze Bracelets.

A third kind of armlet found, though very rarely, in Anglo-Saxon graves is also a relic from the earlier epoch. This is the armlet of glass a specimen of which was found at Malling Hill, Sussex, and is in the British Museum, Pl. CLVI, 8 (p. 623). Such bracelets, and with them rings of glass for the finger and the ear, were worn by the ancient Egyptians, are common in some parts of Europe in the Hallstatt and La Tène periods, and were familiar to the Romans.[2] Lignite and jet were used for the purpose of the fabrication of similar armlets from the Age of Bronze downwards, while the use of ivory was less

[1] Not the same skeleton as the one that wore the late necklet of Viking date noticed previously (p. 171). The *Victoria History*, Essex, 1, 331, needs correction here.

[2] Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertume*, 138 f.

IMPLEMENT, VESSEL, AND FIBULA OF IRON



1 is 15 in. long; 2, 10 in. high; 3, about 8 in. original length

common.[1] Ivory rings are not so rare, as we have seen, in Anglo-Saxon graves, and while it has been shown (p. 400) how they may have been connected with the circular girdle hanger, it is always possible that some may have been worn on the person.

Anglo-Saxon finger rings of the pagan period are miscellaneous in their character and of no special interest. The abundance of this class of object among the Romans made it inevitable that a certain number of Roman finger rings should pass into the hands of the Teutonic invaders of the Empire, and some of these are figured on plate xi of the *Inventorium Sepulchrale.* Among a small set in the British Museum from Faversham, shown Pl. cviii, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, No. 7 is apparently one of this kind. Of the others 8, 9, 10 are plain hoops of bronze or silver wire or strip, 5 a hoop of wire with the bezel formed by a twist of the wire. Pl. cviii, 14, is a curious ring of bone reproduced about the natural size, with linear ornament cut upon it in the form of St. Andrew's Crosses. It is in the Free Library at Gravesend, and was found in the locality. It appears too large for the finger but may have been a thumb ring. Pl. cix, 4, shows a plain ring formed of a strip of silver still encircling one of the phalanges of a finger. It was in the Trinity College Library Collection, Cambridge. The subject of Anglo-Saxon rings is passed over comparatively lightly in this place because an opportunity will present itself later on for dealing with the whole matter in connection with the fine rings of the later Anglo-Saxon period.

It has been already noted that the Anglo-Saxon ladies were not fastidious in the matter of ear jewels, and the simple ear rings of a couple of strung beads so often found seem as a rule to have contented them. No examples seem to be known from our cemeteries of any one of the three kinds of jewelled ear rings favoured among the Franks and Germanic

[1] Déchelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie*, Paris, 1912, etc., II, 2, Premier Age du Fer, pp. 837, 875.

peoples further to the east. The Franks were specially fond of hoops of gold carrying ornaments in the form of a cube or polyhedron of gold with its sides set with gems or pastes. These form one class of the more precious ear jewels that are fairly common on the Continent. The other kind is the so-called 'basket' ear pendant, in which the place of the cube is taken by a delicately wrought golden cage of open work in gold closed sometimes at the top with a jewelled lid. It has been suggested that within the tiny basket there was placed a little bit of chiffon soaked in some fragrant perfume. In Hungary costly ear jewels of another pattern, made up of golden balls put together to the shape of a pyramid, were in favour. It is another proof of Anglo-Saxon independence in matters of the kind that none of these showy objects ever came into fashion on this side of the Channel, and the simple ring of silver with a bead or two strung upon it seems to have satisfied the modest desires of the English ladies.

VESSELS—BUCKETS, ETC.

The last heading under which are grouped these notices of Anglo-Saxon tomb furniture is that of vessels. Vessels are found in the graves in various positions sometimes singly and at other times in some numbers, and occasionally one inside another. There are two exceptional cases in which a whole collection of vessels of different kinds and in various materials were found placed together in a shallow metal pan. The places are Taplow, Bucks, and Broomfield, Essex. On the former site there were certainly between a dozen and twenty vessels of different kinds, which might be held to imply habits of potation in the distinguished occupant of the richly furnished grave. The materials of these Anglo-Saxon vessels are horn, leather, wood, iron, lead or pewter, bronze, glass, and clay; and, save in the case of one class of them only, the forms are those of vessels which would be used for the ordinary purposes

CXI

facing p. 461

DRINKING HORN AND PAIL



1, the original is 18 in. long ; 2, is 10 in. high
2 is Late-Celtic

of life. The exceptional class is that of the sepulchral urn of clay which is often found actually containing the ashes of the deceased person in whose grave it is placed, and may be considered as fabricated especially for this funereal purpose. This last class of vessels is archaeologically of greater importance than all the rest put together, for as will be seen it bears on anthropological studies through its association with the rite of cremation, and on historical through the connection it establishes between our Anglo-Saxon forefathers and the movements of European peoples in the migration period in the nearer parts of the Continent. For this reason the clay vases will be treated not in the present connection but in a separate section, where they will receive the same special attention which is given to another important item of tomb furniture, the objects in inlaid gold work.

An exceptional vessel of iron may be taken first. Pl. cx, 2, is an iron bowl, on a stand that makes the total height 10 in., found in the Broomfield interment noticed above. It corresponds in a measure with the large bronze bowl also on a stand found in the Taplow Barrow and figured Pl. cxv, 1, and in view of its material it is an object of curious interest. With it on Pl. cx are shown two other objects in the same material, iron. No. 1 is a spade-iron of uncertain provenance that may possibly be Anglo-Saxon. It is 15½ in. long, and is in the Museum at Cambridge. No. 3 is an iron cruciform fibula plated with silver, noticed on a previous page (p. 175). Such an object in this material is of the greatest possible rarity.

The drinking horn makes its appearance in two very notable burials, those in the Taplow Barrow of a date about 600 A.D., and at Broomfield in Essex. The Taplow horn is very handsomely mounted in gilded silver round the rim and at the tip, and some of the ornamental motives in the cast and chased enrichment have already furnished matter for comment (p. 319 f.). It is 18 in. long, and is figured on a reduced scale

Pl. CXI, 1. No such artistic mounts were in evidence at Broomfield, but it is worth notice that the ornamented rim of bronze embossed with Early Christian figure subjects, figured Pl. X, 1 (p. 115), shows by its size and shape that it once formed the mount of a drinking horn like that from Taplow.

Remains of a leathern drinking cup with silver mounts were found by Thomas Bateman in the barrow at Benty Grange, Derbyshire, which contained the curious helmet figured Pl. XXI, 1 (p. 195). A cross occurred in the ornamentation, and the object is illustrated on p. 29 of *Ten Years' Diggings*. The discovery of a pewter chalice in a grave at Reading has been already signalized Pl. XI, 3 (p. 117), and a similar find is recorded from Canterbury.

Metal mountings of a somewhat similar kind to those used on the horns were applied round the upper rims of wooden drinking cups, and have come to light sometimes in Anglo-Saxon graves. One such ornamental band with devices in repoussé work in the Dover Museum was figured Pl. LXVIII, 1 (p. 341). An example was found at Croydon in which a small barrel-shaped cup, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. high and $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter at the mouth, was mounted above and below by enriched metal bands. The bronze plates embossed with scriptural subjects found at Long Wittenham, Berks (p. 115 f.), adorned a cup somewhat of the same kind.

By far the most important vessel in which wood plays a part is the metal-mounted wooden pail or bucket which frequently betrays its presence in the cemeteries of most of the Saxon and Anglian districts. As a rule very little more than the metal mounts is preserved, but these are sufficient to indicate the form and dimensions of the object and to make possible a partial restoration. The shape of the vessel was generally that of a cylinder with upright sides but some were a little wider in diameter below than above. This was the case with one of the largest of those that have been found in Anglo-Saxon graves, a pail represented only by its hoops

acing p. 463

WOODEN BUCKET AND ROUND PLAQUES



1, 2, 3, are natural size

discovered at Bourne Park, Kent,[1] that must have been 1 ft. in diameter below and 10 in. at the top, the height being about 12 in. Two buckets at Broomfield, Essex, were 12 in. in diameter. The skeleton of a still larger one is in the British Museum from Sleaford, Lincolnshire, measuring 16 in. in diameter by 1 ft. in height, and there was a bucket 20 in. in diameter holding 4 or 5 gallons found at Glen Parva, Leicestershire. The sizes vary from these dimensions down to about 4 in. or even less in diameter and height. The wooden staves, of oak or yew or pine, were bound together by hoops that are sometimes of iron but more often of bronze, and the uppermost band forming the rim is frequently ornamented by designs in repoussé or punched work. Upright pieces riveted to the successive hoops keep the whole together. There is generally an arched handle hinged to two pieces attached to the rim on opposite sides of the vessel, and these pieces are often fashioned in quaint forms with zoomorphic enrichment. The more elaborate specimens are ornamented with triangular pieces generally attached with their points downwards at the base of the uppermost hoop or ring, in the same fashion as appears in the Taplow horn, Pl. CXI, 1.[2]

The small bronze-mounted bucket in the Rochester Museum, found in the locality, Pl. CXII, is one of the most perfect as well as one of the most interesting known, and has preserved its woodwork almost intact. It is $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. high and is figured the natural size. It will be observed that the side pieces riveted on the upper part to give attachment to the hinged handle branch out and end in animals' heads. The triangular pieces mentioned above appear to right and left in the photograph. A unique feature is the addition of a row of round discs down the side, attached to the vessel by means of an opening near the rim of each but otherwise loose. They all have also

[1] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, Lond., 1875, p. 499.

[2] In the Roundway Down bucket at Devizes, the triangles seem to have been placed pointing alternately up and down on the central band.

a central aperture. Discs of this kind slightly convex, stamped with simple patterns and in one case more elaborately adorned, have come to light several times in interments and have been regarded as enigmatical. Pl. CXII, 2, shows one found at Leagrave, Beds, and Nos. 3, 4, give a couple from Chessell Down at Carisbrooke Castle, Isle of Wight. One of these, No. 4, is of silvered or tinned bronze and has round it stamped ornament of a classical type. Across the opening near the rim is a sort of bar that ends on each side in an ornament the motive of which is obscure. The central aperture is here filled up with a stud. The Rochester bucket shows at any rate one way in which these discs might be used. The rim apertures there are heart shaped, in the other examples triangular, while the central hole is always circular.

On Pl. CXIII are shown two more buckets, one, No. 1, from North Luffenham, Rutland, at Normanton Park, about 4 in. high, with the woodwork well preserved, and the other, No. 2, a recent find from Soberton, near Droxford, Hants, in the Museum at Winchester. The repoussé ornament on the upper band and side piece is of early type. A very remarkable enrichment of a side piece in the Museum at Leicester, Pl. CXIII, 3, has the form of an ox's head and for this there is a remarkable parallel in the forepart of the same creature used as a *πρόκροσσος*, or projecting ornament, on an early bronze cauldron from Denmark in the Copenhagen Museum, shown Pl. LX, 4 (p. 319). The side piece and handle hinge of a bucket from Souldern, Oxon, in Mr. S. G. Fenton's collection, No. 4, has on it a rudely formed human head, for which the Danish piece also furnishes a prototype, though a nearer one will be found on the Aylesford bucket figured Pl. CXI, 2, and presently to be described (p. 466). The enrichments Pl. CXIII, 5, 6, are from a bucket found at Bidford, Warwickshire, in the Museum at Worcester. The work here is repoussé and the ornamentation in dots is like that on the Winchester example but the motives are of a floral character.

BUCKETS AND BUCKET MOUNTS



1, ⅓ natural size ; 6, natural size

The animal form into which the larger applique has been cut is very noteworthy and has already been the subject of comment and illustration (p. 106). The smaller piece is one of the pendant triangles already referred to.

The archaeology of these buckets or pails has often been discussed. They are probably as widely distributed over the Teutonic area of Britain as any other item of tomb furniture, except arms, knives, vessels of clay, beads and perhaps some of the more common kinds of brooches such as the plain disc ones of bronze. The fact that the presence of buckets has been attested in Kent, Sussex, Hants, Dorset, and Wilts; in Surrey, Bucks, Berks, Oxon, Warwick, and Gloucestershire; in Essex, Beds, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Rutland, Leicestershire, Northants, Lincolnshire, is proof of this, and Mr. Reginald Smith notes that they 'are most frequent in the central parts of the country, from Fairford to Peterborough and from Warwick to Devizes.'[1] It must furthermore be noted that the object is frequently met with in continental cemeteries. Baron de Baye gives useful statistics here,[2] and enumerates many Frankish examples together with specimens from Burgundian, Alamannic, and Hungarian sources.

The truth is that the object is a survival from the Celtic period when it was much in vogue. The wooden pail bound with bronze is itself a descendant from remoter times, and its genealogy has been traced back by Sir Arthur Evans[3] to Phoenician and Assyrian prototypes through the bronze *situlae* of North Italy, finely represented in the Museums at Bologna and at Vienna. Two examples of the Celtic bucket found in England are so much more ornate than anything of the kind found in an Anglo-Saxon grave that it is an obvious inference that our Teutonic pails are degenerate descendants of the older ones. They are also as

[1] *Victoria History*, Warwick, I, 261.

[2] *The Industrial Arts of the Anglo-Saxons*, London, 1893, p. 101 f.

[3] *Archaeologia*, LII, p. 47.

a rule very much smaller, running generally from about 7 in. to 4 in. in height. The famous Marlborough bucket in the Museum at Devizes, Wilts, measures 2 ft. in diameter by 21 in. in height, and the bands of bronze that encircle it are elaborately embossed with human and grotesque animal designs. It has three times the capacity of any known Anglo-Saxon specimens. The bucket discovered in the Late-Celtic urn-field at Aylesford near Maidstone in Kent is about 10 in. high and rather more in diameter. It is now in the British Museum and is figured Pl. CXI, 2. The enrichment round the uppermost band is in the characteristic Late-Celtic style. These are clearly the prototypes of the much smaller buckets with which we are here concerned, and the fact that these occur in early cemeteries is quite in accordance with this view. With the Anglo-Saxons the use of the buckets goes on into VII for specimens were found in the Taplow Barrow dating about 600 A.D.

In accordance with what was said (p. 497) on the subject of tomb furniture in general no attempt will be made here to speculate on the use of these objects or the purpose for which they were placed in the graves. They are often supposed to have held the heroic beverage called mead, but is it really imagined that a vessel compacted of wooden staves bound together by bands of thin bronze plate is likely to have held liquids without a parlous danger of leakage? Where iron bands were used these might conceivably have been 'shrunk on' so as firmly to constrict the vessel, after the fashion of the cooper's shop, but bronze does not lend itself to the same ingenious device.

VESSELS—BRONZE BOWLS

Vessels of bronze form a very important sub-class under the present heading. They exhibit considerable variety in shape and present some remarkable motives of enrichment,



BRONZE EWER, PAIL, AND BOWLS

2, 5, are Continental

and from both points of view they suggest archaeological questions of some interest and difficulty. Here again we are dealing with a class of objects abundantly represented in the preceding Roman and Celtic periods, but whereas the buckets found in Anglo-Saxon graves are clearly of native manufacture, in the case of certain varieties of the bronze vessels there is considerable doubt as to whether or not they are imported products.

It will conduce to clearness if the different kinds of bronze vessels be described and illustrated at the outset, archaeological problems involving questions of date and provenance being left for after discussion.

A beginning may be made with an exceptional vessel which has the general form of the pail just passed in review but is made entirely in bronze. It is figured Pl. CXIV, 3, from Akerman's *Pagan Saxondom*, pl. XIII, and it was dug up at Cuddesdon in Oxfordshire. It is 9 in. high and is made of comparatively thin sheet bronze bound with massive bronze hoops and is furnished with a solid handle. Akerman thought it early and the objects found with it[1] bear out this supposition. He noticed that the bottom of it is shaped as if to be fitted on a stand or trivet. It had been carefully mended by a patch just under the rim. A somewhat similar pail is the vessel in which was found a large hoard of the early Northumbrian coins called 'stycas' in the churchyard of Hexham, Northumberland, and as these coins descend to the middle of IX the vessel containing them is presumably of about the same advanced date. This form of bronze pail may therefore have remained long in use. The Hexham pail is of a different form from the other, and increases in diameter as it descends. It will be illustrated in a succeeding volume.

As bearing on the question of foreign or native provenance,

[1] Two sword blades, a fragment of garnet inlay, and a couple of very good vases of glass, suggesting a date late in VI. See *Relics of Pagan Saxondom*, pp. 11, 28.

there may now be noticed two vessels found in this country to which such close parallels have been adduced from the Rhineland as to make it practically certain that our specimens came from over the sea. Pl. CXIV, 1-2, 4-5, show the two objects with their foreign doubles. No. 1, familiarly known as the 'teapot,' was found at Wheathampstead, Herts, in a burial that Sir Hercules Read dated between 590 and 620 A.D.[1] It is 7½ in. high and is of cast bronze. Its counterpart, No. 2, measuring about 6 in. in outside diameter and 7 in height, comes from Wonsheim in Rhenish Hesse. The cast bronze bowl, No. 4, is one of a small class represented on Kentish sites and came to light at Faversham in Kent; it is of exceptional interest in that it still contains a number of hazel nuts that were found in it. This discovery has of course a direct bearing on the theory that vessels were placed in the graves for the purpose of supplying food for the ghost of the deceased.[2] This matter is discussed elsewhere (p. 497). The fellow piece, No. 5, is from Walluf near Mainz. Save that the English bowl has a diameter at the rim of 10 in. and the German one of 8 in., the two are almost exactly alike and both have the drop handles and the open-work vandyke ornament round the rim that serves as the foot. Both seem to have been cast complete in one piece with rings and feet, the handles being afterwards inserted. The Walluf bowl may be a little superior in the finish but the Kentish example is certainly not a mere imitation. Both pieces must have issued from the same centre of fabrication, and the date, to judge from the finds associated with the Kentish bowls, may be about the same as that just suggested for the Wheathampstead bronze.

That this centre was somewhere in the Rhineland might be inferred from the large number of bronze bowls of various

[1] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XVIII, 111.

[2] Hazel nuts were found in a bronze bowl in one of the graves at Selzen in Rhenish Hesse (Lindenschmit, *Selzen*, p. 15), and a bronze bowl filled with hazel nuts was discovered at Worms on the Rhine.



BRONZE BOWLS

1 is 12 in. high; 3, 7¾ in. diameter

sizes and shapes found in Teutonic graves in that region and specially well represented in the Paulus Museum at Worms. The whole subject has recently been reviewed in the article 'Bronzegefäsze' in the *Real Lexicon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* from the pen of Dr. Hubert Schmidt, who summarizes recent works such as those by H. Willers, *Die römische Bronzeeimer von Hemmoor*, Hannover, 1901, and *Neue Untersuchungen über die römische Bronzeindustrie*, Hannover, 1907. Herr Willers demonstrated that after a long period in the first millennium B.C., during which Celtic and to some extent Greek workshops supplied central and northern Europe with bronze vessels, there came about a great development in the Italian bronze industry, and for a century before and a century after the birth of Christ there was a very brisk export trade carried on in the peninsula especially from Capua, as a result of which in the northern regions of Europe Italian or Roman wares superseded all others. At a little later date a provincial-Roman industry was established in the Rhineland, and it was in the main the products of this that supplied the central European markets during the first three centuries of the Christian era. A provincial-Roman industry carrying on the traditions of an earlier Italian one underlies in this way all the production of bronze vessels in the migration period, and though the forms characteristic of this period are new ones the Roman tradition is always at the back of the work. Hence it is not surprising that archaeologists have often hesitated as to the provenance of bronze vessels found in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, and some would argue for a Roman and others for a Teutonic origin for cauldron or pan or bowl.

The Germanic craftsman was so much at home in metal work that there is no reason to doubt his capacity to cast or beat out the various specimens that come to light in the graves of his people, but a vessel found in an Anglo-Saxon tomb may be of Teutonic make and yet imported, like the Kentish bowl just noticed, from the Rhineland or Gaul. As a rule however

the Anglo-Saxon tomb furniture, in this form as well as in others, is of native fabrication, and we have a distinct proof that bronze vessels were freely made on this side of the Channel. There is a class, and not a small one, of bronze bowls that are treated in a special fashion and enriched with special ornamental motives that are practically unknown on the Continent. If these particular vessels were made in this country why need we look abroad for the origin of objects of the class in general? The somewhat similar case of the vessels of glass will presently have to be considered. These vessels are generally held to be importations, and for this view there is much positive evidence. This evidence would be materially shaken were it possible to point to any specimens of the objects that were certainly or very probably of native British manufacture. Such specimens have not yet been identified, and we must as a consequence in the meantime begrudge to the glass vases the letters of naturalization that may fairly be accorded to the bronzes, some of which are certainly of our own fabrication.

One cast bronze bowl with open work foot and two drop handles has already been noticed in the Kentish example Pl. CXIV, 4, but by far the finest specimen of the kind was recovered from a riparian site in Buckinghamshire. The reference is to the famous Taplow Barrow, one of the most imposing objects in which was the tall and massive cast bronze bowl mounted on a stem shown Pl. CXV, 1. Its dimensions are in height 12 in., in diameter 16½ in. The rings for the handles are cast in one piece with it and the foot is decorated with the same kind of vandyked open work as the bowls already figured, Pl. CXIV, 4, 5. The rim is scalloped out twelve times and between each pair of hollows there is a projecting knob. It is no doubt a product of the same centre of fabrication as the pieces on Pl. CXIV, and must be regarded as an importation. These cast bowls are uniformly solid and workmanlike in their make, and Charles Roach Smith[1] and

[1] *Coll. Ant.*, VI, 144.

CXVI

facing p. 471



BRONZE BOWLS

2 is 7½ in.; 3, 10¼ in. in internal diameter

Akerman [1] were no doubt right in seeing in them a good deal that is Roman.

From these must be distinguished the beaten bowls of thinner metal and slighter make. Some of these have two drop handles and possess no foot but are rounded below. Some Kentish examples are figured on plate XVI of the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*. They have sometimes the shape and dimensions of pans rather than of bowls, and of the former kind were the shallow open receptacles in the Broomfield and Taplow graves that held the collections of other vessels. The Broomfield piece was about 13 in. across and had iron handles. Under a tumulus at Bourne Park, Kent, there was a beaten bowl 'of very thin copper' with iron handles about 1 ft. across by 2½ in. in depth.[2] This was 'strongly gilt,' and traces of gilding have been reported on others of the vessels now under discussion.

A vessel of a somewhat exceptional kind, very instructive from the point of view of technique, is figured Pl. CXVI, 2. It was found on Rodmead Hill, Wilts, in conjunction with objects of unmistakably Anglo-Saxon character, and is in the Museum at Devizes. The internal diameter is 7½ in., the depth 2½, the handle would be 5½ in. long if straightened out, but by accident or design the end has been bent up. The whole piece bears a superficial resemblance to the familiar Roman 'casserole' that was imported in such numbers into central and northern Europe, but is far shallower than the ordinary run of these and is rounded below, while the end of the handle is without the usual hole for suspension. The form and details are rather Late-Celtic than Roman,[3] and a near parallel is the bronze patella found at Aylesford, Kent, and discussed by Sir Arthur Evans in the paper noted below.

[1] *Pagan Saxondom*, p. 23.

[2] Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, Lond., 1875, p. 468.

[3] Willers, *Neue Untersuchungen*, p. 19 f. Sir Arthur Evans in *Archaeologia*, vol. LII, on 'A Late-Celtic Urn-Field at Aylesford, Kent.'

There is a remarkable difference however in that the Devizes pan has the deep hollow under the rim which is the characteristic feature of the Anglo-Saxon beaten bronze bowls mounted for suspension, of which examples will presently be discussed, see for instance Pl. CXVIII. At Desborough in Northamptonshire a somewhat similar bronze bowl came to light and is now in the British Museum. It differs from the Devizes specimen in that it lacks the characteristic hollow under the rim.

On the same Plate, CXVI, 1, 3, are two thin beaten bowls without handles but with the turned out edges ornamented with a close row of bosses beaten up from the back, after a fashion represented in Rhineland work pursued on provincial-Roman models in V and VI A.D. Lindenschmit in his *Handbuch*, p. 479, refers to a Rhenish example with a Latin inscription on it and notes the wide diffusion of the type among Frankish and Alamannic cemeteries. It can however be traced back much earlier, and M. Déchelette[1] figures some from the Hallstatt period almost exactly like the Anglo-Saxon examples on Pl. CXVI. No. 3 on this Plate is from Stowting, Kent, and measures $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. across by 4 in. in height. The other, No. 1, is from Alfriston, Sussex, and both pieces may date in the middle or latter part of VI.

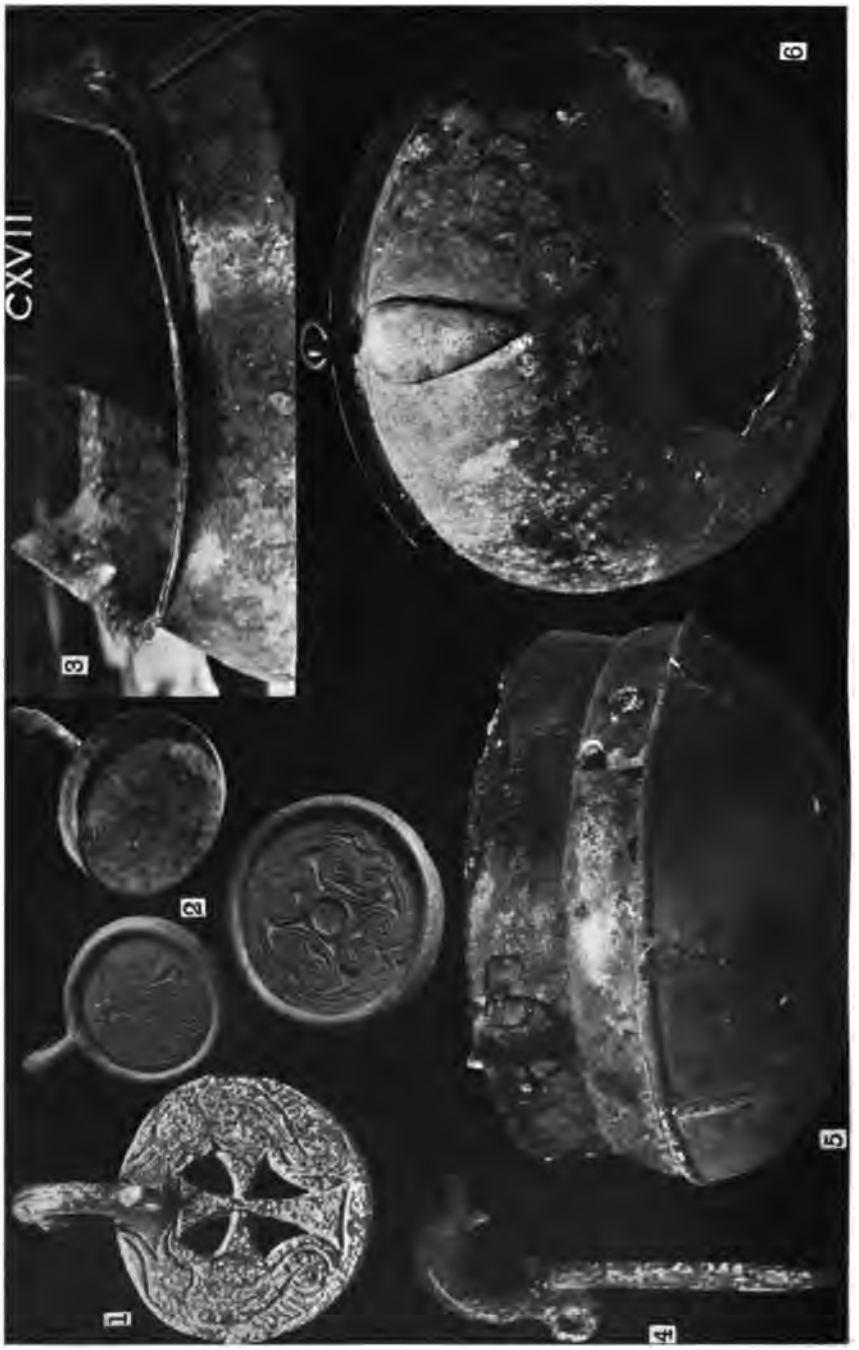
Another form of bronze vessel met with from time to time in Anglo-Saxon graves is shown Pl. CXVII, 3. This is a beaten vessel, from Croydon, in the Grange Wood Museum, 8 in. in diameter, exhibiting the process of fabrication in the varying thicknesses of the metal, which is $\frac{1}{16}$ in. at the rim, but only about $\frac{1}{32}$ in. in the body of the bowl where superficial extension rather than stiffness was needful. The turned up portions of the rim are pierced with holes to receive the ends of an arched handle like that of the buckets. The cemetery is an early one and the piece is probably of VI. Other examples of the kind have been found in this country, as at Long Wittenham, Berks, and the type also occurs abroad.

[1] *Manuel d'Archéologie*, II, 2, Premier Age du Fer, p. 778.

CXVII

facing p. 473

BRONZE BOWLS AND SCUTCHEONS



5 is 4⅛ in.; 6, 8¾ in. in diameter

The last of the classes into which the bronze bowls have been divided is from the standpoints of both archaeology and art by far the most important. The bowls in this class differ from all the others in that they are arranged for suspension and are without the ordinary handles that can be grasped. This peculiarity at once removes them out of the category of household objects of use and suggests that they served some ceremonial purpose. The use in churches of certain hanging lamps, supported on platters named 'Gabata,' was brought forward by Sir Augustus Franks[1] as furnishing a possible explanation of these enigmatical objects, but if the bowls had ecclesiastical connections it is hard to see why they should appear among ordinary items of tomb furniture in private graves. Objects that were part of the fittings of a church would naturally remain in use from generation to generation as the property of the community, and not be consigned to private sepulchres.

Among the examples of this hanging type of bowl found in our cemeteries there are marked differences, some of which have a chronological significance. A bowl in the national collection found at Ewelme, Oxfordshire, Pl. CXVII, 5, presents some very early features. It is put together of different pieces, not wrought in one, and the joins of these are marked with projecting roundels, so that we are reminded of pieced Bronze Age bowls, and of the cordoned bronze vessels of the Hallstatt epoch. The form of the neck also is reminiscent of earlier models, the upright collar above a rounded body occurring in Bronze Age vessels both of clay and metal. Round the neck are three discs riveted on at equal distances and these have projecting ears pierced with holes by which the bowl could be suspended. It is very small, only $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter. The bowl from Hawnby, Yorkshire, Pl. CXVII, 6, $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter, also in the British Museum, brings us to the normal form of this particular

[1] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2 Ser., III, 45.

class of vessel. It is a beaten bowl rounded below and with a marked circular depression in the lowest part that would enable it to stand firm if set down, but when it was suspended and looked at from below would offer a suitable field for ornamental treatment. Above, the rim is formed in characteristic fashion. The top of the bowl is drawn in in a deep hollow and the edge is beaten out over this. Below the hollow is fixed a plate of an elegant shape that ends above in a hook turned inwards to meet and lap over the edge of the rim. Within this hook there plays a ring, moving freely owing to the space provided by the hollow, and to this would be attached chains for suspension. The arrangement is clearly seen in the different examples of these bowls on Pll. cxv to cxx. In an example at York, Pl. cxv, 2, the plate and the hook have been turned into a bird with its bill, and this is strikingly reminiscent of the device of a swan which often occurs at the end of the handles of Roman pans or casseroles.

The finest bowl of this particular kind is the famous example at Wilton House near Salisbury, Pl. cxviii. This is of the form already described and has four attachments the plates of which, commonly called 'scutcheons,' are ornamented with pierced designs while the hooks are fashioned like animals' heads. The body of the vessel is of thin beaten metal of a yellow hue and has a diameter of 11 in. and a height of $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. The plates are fastened on with rivets. At the bottom there is the usual circular depression, but without any enrichment.

Regarded as a whole this object gives a very favourable impression of the aesthetic feeling and the craftsmanship of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. It is simple, dignified, well proportioned, and executed in an unpretentious but thoroughly workmanlike fashion; the ornamental parts which remain, the four plates and hooks, being treated with nice restraint but with decision, while the ring is finished at the side with a groove. It will be understood that we are dealing here with

THE WILTON BRONZE BOWL



Diameter 11 in.

CXIX

facing p. 475

SCUTCHEONS WITH LATE-CELTIC ORNAMENT



1, 2, 4, natural size; 3, somewhat reduced; 6, is $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. high

4 is Continental; 3, Irish

a product as distinctively Anglo-Saxon as the saucer and button fibula or the cocked-hat pommel with the side ring. Stray examples of insular products of the kind may make their appearance in continental cemeteries but this does not alter the national character of the types, which Lindenschmit, in writing of the Lullingstone bowl, Pl. cxx, fully recognizes.[1] All the merit in design and execution that can be ascribed to a work like the Wilton bowl must be set down to the credit of the Anglo-Saxon craftsman. If there were at times an import of Rhineland vessels, and if in their own productions our metal workers conformed at first to traditional patterns, they yet exercised their own freedom in the evolution of new types and controlled the form and details of the resultant products in masterful fashion.

Into an Anglo-Saxon bronze industry of this flourishing and prolific order there suddenly explodes an intrusive Celtic influence, the source and connections of which are alike obscure. Hanging bowls in considerable numbers have been signalized in Anglo-Saxon graves with the peculiarity that the 'scutcheons' are adorned with ornamental motives of a most pronounced Celtic kind, unlike anything in genuine Teutonic work, while these motives are carried out in enamel, a technical process that is only to the very slightest extent Germanic. The enamel is of the champlevé sort, a familiar feature in Late-Celtic and Romano-British productions, and the motives are Late-Celtic flamboyant spirals, joined with close-coiled spirals, continuous spiral scrolls, and other linear ornaments of Celtic type. In many cases all that survive are the scutcheons and hooks, or the scutcheons alone from which the hooks have been broken off, for these are solidly cast, whereas the bowls were of thin beaten bronze and have decayed away. Pll. cxvii, cxix, exhibit some specimens of these mountings from different parts of the country, and it will be seen that in some cases the plate and the hook are in one piece, as in the example figured

[1] *Handbuch*, p. 479.

in its natural colours Pl. E, III (p. 519), from the old Tilt-Yard, Greenwich, in the Museum at Canterbury, while in others, Pl. CXVII, 2, the plate is separate and is enclosed in a circular rim to which the hook is attached. When the hook is absent and there is no sign of it having been broken off, the round plate may have been used to decorate the central depression at the bottom of the bowl. This is probably the case with the plaque in the Aylesbury Museum, Pl. CXIX, 2, that was found at Oving, near Whitchurch, Bucks. Pl. CXIX, 1, is a fine example of the enamelled plate with the hook attached to it, 2⅛ in. in diameter, from Middleton Moor, Derbyshire, in the Museum at Sheffield. The coloured vitreous pastes are here particularly well preserved. The two circular plaques below these on Pl. CXIX are introduced for purposes of comparison. No. 3 is an enamelled disc found in Ireland and now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. It is certainly not a bowl scutcheon, for it is furnished at the back with two projecting tongues, perforated, by which it was attached to some ground. There are also two small holes in the rim. The other, No. 4, 2 in. in diameter, with some traces of coloured enamel, is in the Museum at Brussels. It was found at Lede in Belgium. There is one hole in it near the rim for a rivet or for purposes of suspension, but the back is quite plain without any projections or signs of fastening.

To complete the illustrations of this special sub-class of the hanging bowl with Celtic ornaments the well-known Lullingstone bowl,[1] with characteristic details, is figured on Pll. CXIX, CXX. This remarkable object was found accidentally in connection with works on the railway from Swanley Junction to Maidstone at a spot not far from Lullingstone Castle, Kent, where it has ever since been preserved, and where by the kindness of the present owner, Sir William Hart Dyke, the writer was permitted to photograph it. It was apparently in a sepulchre, for inquiries among the men who found it showed

[1] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2 Ser., I, 187.

facing p. 477



THE LULLINGSTONE BOWL

¼ full size

that 'a burial place had been broken into,' and human skulls and other human bones were found with or near it, as well as other objects such as fragments of iron and pottery, and one or two decorated pieces of metal. It is about 10 in. in diameter and $4\frac{1}{2}$ in height, of bronze beaten in such a way that the thickness varies from about half or three quarters of a millimetre over the body to 1 mill. at the hollow round the rim and $1\frac{1}{2}$ mill. at the edge of the brim. Over the surface are soldered, not riveted, various ornamental appliques in plates of tinned bronze of a thickness of $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ mill., certain of which found their place in the depressed central round at the bottom of the bowl. On some of these are distinct traces of red enamel. Pl. cxx gives a view of the whole, Pl. cxix, 5, a detail of the ornament on a larger scale. The appliques form a varied collection inventoried in the *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, referred to above. The birds confronting each other, seen in the general view, occur four times, there are four stags as on Pl. cxx, two fish, Pl. cxix, 5, while the bronze disc found with the bowl, Pl. clviii, 5 (p. 807), is archaeologically of great significance. The original is only $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter, and it is represented enlarged on account of its ornamentation, which consists in three fishes the bodies of which are split so that they can be intertwined into a sort of triquetra knot. This intertwining we have seen to be an infallible mark of a comparatively late, at any rate a VII, date, and this impression is borne out by the ornamentation of the bowl itself. This is not only plastered over it in a loose inorganic fashion, but uses interlacing work of careless design and introduces the Christian symbol of the fish with probably a cruciform ornament in the depression below, so that it is impossible to date the piece earlier than about the middle of VII. At the same time in the round scutcheons, from which the hooks have been broken off, we find the same freely treated Celtic spirals as on the plaques Pl. cxix, 1 to 4, and the same use of champlevé enamel, traces of which are freely visible on

the appliques. The bowl is only a late and rather debased example of a style represented elsewhere by better productions.

These productions are fairly numerous, for in a communication to the Society of Antiquaries in 1907[1] Mr. Reginald Smith catalogues thirty-six finds of bowls of the type or their scutcheons. Sixteen of the finds are shown by the associated objects to be Anglo-Saxon, and the rest had nothing about them contrary to such an ascription. The finds are very widely distributed, for a bronze bowl with marks of hook attachments is in the Museum at Newcastle and has been figured Pl. cxv, 3, while two were found in the grave at Kingston, Kent, that furnished the 'Kingston brooch' figured on the Frontispiece to Vol. III. The Midland districts are however the most prolific, and the earliest examples of the enamelled scutcheons, according to Mr. Romilly Allen, were found at Barlaston in Staffordshire, in connection with a cast, not a beaten, bronze bowl. The occurrence of these specimens of Celtic art—we note the Derbyshire piece Pl. cxix, 1—in the same district that furnished jewellery of Romano-British character (p. 426 f.) has some significance. That the bowls are of local fabrication, i.e. that each was made near where it was found, may of course be questioned, but that they are not at any rate importations from Celtic Ireland seems proved by the fact that in Ireland they do not occur, save in one intrusive Viking burial of a later date, at Ballyholme. The Irish plaque Pl. cxix, 3, is certainly *not* the scutcheon of one of these bowls, and Mr. George Coffey in a letter to the writer of January 1912, states that he knows of no scutcheons of the kind found in Ireland. The bowl from the Viking burial at Ballyholme had no such scutcheon attached to it. In connection with this it is important to note that nearly a score of bowls of this species with the enamelled scutcheons have been found in Norway, and are proved by accompanying objects to be of the Viking age from about 800 A.D. onwards. These,

[1] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XXII, 66 f.

GLASS VESSELS, ENGLISH AND CONTINENTAL



4, 5, about $\frac{2}{3}$ natural size
1, 2, 3, are Continental

like the Ballyholme example, may have been exported from England.

Of somewhat earlier date than Mr. Reginald Smith's communication is a paper in *Archaeologia*, vol. LVI, by Mr. Romilly Allen, in which he deals with the bowls, or rather their enamelled scutcheons, from the point of view of Celtic art. In this aspect the bowls connect themselves with the pendants and other objects previously discussed (p. 424 f.). The carbuncle pendants and examples of glass mosaic are however Romano-British and -Gallic, while the scutcheons, like the Roundway Down jewel, exhibit Saxon and Celtic motives and Celtic technique without a trace of Roman influence. They are thus documents of capital importance as illustrating the relations between intrusive Teutonic culture and that of the earlier Celtic period. These relations are in our own islands of especial interest because Celtic art continued to flourish in the western parts of them to an extent to which no part of the Continent offers a parallel. The influence of this Celtic art is markedly in evidence in the case of the manuscripts and carved stones of the Christian period, but the influence is distinctly traceable to the fact that Christianity itself was introduced mainly from Celtic sources. If the Gospels of Lindisfarne are adorned in Celtic fashion we naturally connect this with the historical facts that Lindisfarne was colonized from Iona, Iona from Ireland. These Late-Celtic scutcheons however with their flamboyant scrolls and enamel (Pl. E, III) have no appearance of being Irish importations, for such things are not found in Ireland, and look much more like survivals of Celtic art industry which under conditions that at present we do not understand maintained themselves in parts of England through the stormy period of Teutonic conquest. There is something here which waits for elucidation in the future, and it is sufficient in this place to signalize the appearance at a comparatively late date in the period whereon we are engaged of ornamental motives and

technical methods which are not Anglo-Saxon but Celtic, but which are at the same time apparently unconnected with recognized centres of Celtic art such as Ireland.

VESSELS—VASES OF GLASS

The last heading in this somewhat lengthy inventory embraces vessels of glass, for the urns of clay will receive as was explained a separate treatment. The only archaeological question of importance here is that of provenance. The objects themselves though of great interest and beauty offer for solution no problems in morphology, and few of the typological questions and puzzles concerning motives of ornament with which preceding chapters have made us familiar. The glass vessels in view form a distinct group among the productions in that material so numerous in late Roman and in Early Christian times. In their forms and their technique they are quite unlike the glass vessels that were made in western Europe in III and IV A.D., during the pre-Teutonic period, and bear unmistakably the mark of origin in the migration epoch embracing the centuries from V to VII. Whereas those earlier vessels were commonly of clear glass the ones we have to deal with are only semi-transparent and of various subdued and rather uncertain hues of green, brown and azure, though a clear strong dark blue is sometimes found. The glass is often thin and delicate and the workmanship quite expert though as a rule less ambitious than in the earlier epoch, it being a notable difference that handles, elaborate in the tall and elegant vessels of III and IV, are in the Germanic period practically nonexistent. One very complicated form however, more elaborate than the earlier ones, makes its first appearance in Teutonic times.

Within the compact group thus formed there are distinct forms that often recur and that remain on the whole con-

CXXII

facing p. 481



GLASS VESSELS OF 'TUMBLER' FORM

About ½ natural size

sistent with themselves, without that running of one sub-type into another which we observe in other groups such as the fibulae or the buckles. They are fairly widely distributed in England, though for reasons that will soon be apparent they are more common in Kent and in the South generally than further north. The question of importance about them is where they were fabricated. As they are in their nature fragile and require much care in transport we might assume that they were made near where they are found, but all the evidence available seems to show that they are of continental origin. We have as facts, on the one hand the existence at the time of flourishing glass factories in the Rhineland and in parts of modern Belgium and northern France, and on the other the familiar statement in Bede that when Benedict Biscop had built his church at what is now Monkwearmouth, about 675, he 'sent representatives to Gaul to bring back with them workers in glass, a class of craftsmen up to that time unknown in Britain, to glaze the windows of the church' and other monastic buildings.[1] These known facts raise a presumption in favour of the view just stated, and this is raised to practical certainty when we note that precisely the same kinds of vessels that we find in this country appear in corresponding numbers in various parts of the Continent. It is absurd to suppose that such duplicates of our own pieces were made in this island and exported in great numbers across the Channel, for a flourishing insular glass industry could not have existed here, say about 600 A.D., when a century later a writer so well informed as Bede has no knowledge of its existence. It is clear that the crossing of the Channel must have been in the other direction, and that most at any rate of the vessels found in our cemeteries came from abroad. This

[1] 'Misit legatarios Galliam, qui vitri factores, artifices videlicet Britanniis eatenus incognitos, ad cancellandas aecclesiae porticumque et caenaculorum ejus fenestras adducerent.' *Historia Abbatum Auctore Baeda*, § 5.

does not of course preclude the possibility that glass was also made in our own country where the manufacture had been already carried on by the Romans, and some of the simpler products which come to light here may quite well be of native fabrication.

It will be well to illustrate at the outset this similarity between our own and continental glass vessels, so as to justify the view here taken. On Pll. CXXI, CXXIII, are brought together some specimens found in English cemeteries together with similar pieces that have come to light abroad, both in Gaul, the probable place of their fabrication, and also in the regions of the North to which as well as to England these Gallic products were exported. Pl. CXXI, 4, is an elegant drinking cup with a foot, 4½ in. high, found at Croydon and now in the Grange Wood Museum, and above it, No. 1, is a very similar piece from a local Belgian cemetery in the Museum at Brussels. A slender thread of glass wound round the vessels forms a simple but graceful enrichment in relief. The likeness between the pieces Nos. 5 and 3 is still more close. The lower one is from Bifrons, 6½ in. high, of greenish glass, funnel shaped, without a foot and with no aperture below. This slender conical form begins to come into fashion in V,[1] and many examples of it occur in our cemeteries. Here the ornamentation consists in festoon-like patterns in glass of a milky hue inlaid in or rather painted on to the body of the vase and not in relief. The piece above, at Brussels, shows the festoon ornament rather more developed, but is otherwise almost its counterpart. No. 2 is also at Brussels and closely resembles a vase found in Kent that is illustrated, after a plate in Akerman's *Pagan Saxondom*, Pl. CXXII, 2. The Kentish piece has a curious history. It was the last survivor of a set of about thirty similar vessels found near Woodnesborough above Sandwich. The fragile cups were pressed into use on the occasion of harvest festivals at the farm on which they

[1] Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertume*, p. 343.

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facing p. 483

GLASS VESSELS, ENGLISH AND CONTINENTAL



1, is 7; 2, is 3¾ in. high
3 is Continental

were discovered, and in the course of time all but this single piece were broken. The colour of it was brownish and the height about 5 in.

These pieces Pl. CXXI, 2 and Pl. CXXII, 1, 2, 3, together with a number of others among these illustrations of glass vessels, belong to the class known by the familiar modern term 'tumbler.' The tumbler of to-day stands firm, but the vessel first called by the name was rounded below, ending sometimes at the bottom with a little knob as Pl. CXXI, 2, and could in no wise stand upright; the idea being that it had to be emptied at a draught and was then reversed and set down upon its rim. Such trick-goblets are not known from antiquity but come into use with VI A.D.,[1] and are characteristic of the period with which we are concerned. Pl. CXXII, 1, is from Kingston and No. 3 from Barfriston, Kent, and they are respectively $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 5 in. high.

Of the vases on Pl. CXXIII the central one, No. 2, is a delicate little cup of pale glass found at Mitcham, Surrey, in a somewhat damaged condition; of the others No. 1 was found recently at Broadstairs. It is of green glass and 7 in. high. Its prototype, in the Brussels Museum, is No. 3. We have here a remarkable form of vessel only represented in this period and belonging rather to the latter than the former part of it so that Kisa assigns it 'der fränkischen und Karolingischen Zeit,' i.e. about VII or VIII.[2] It is called a 'lobed,' a 'claw,' or a 'tear' glass; in German 'Rüsselbecher,' 'snout cup,' or 'Taschenbecher,' 'pouch cup'; in French 'vase à larmes.' M. Boulanger, and following him Dr. Kisa, call attention to the expert handling of the material, for when one examines the interior of these vases it is seen that the external protuberances, which are of course hollow, correspond to apertures in the wall of the vessel so that they form open pockets. No sign of a join is discernible at the openings of these pockets, and it might have been thought that the

[1] Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertume*, p. 343. [2] ibid., p. 351, see also p. 912.

pockets were made by pressing out the wall of the vessel, which is however not a practicable process. The illustration Pl. CXXVI, 4, gives a view into the interior of one of these vases which explains what has just been said. It has been noticed that certain rare vases of IV exhibit tours-de-force of somewhat the same kind,[1] and of these the 'claw glasses' may be the descendants. They are not uncommon, occurring not only in Kent but in other southern counties such as Hants, Surrey, Berks, Bucks, Gloucestershire; the Midlands as in Northants and Cambridgeshire; and as far north as County Durham, where there was discovered in connection with an interment at Castle Eden in 1802 what is probably the finest and most perfect specimen in the country. This fact, coupled with the interest of the provenance, makes it worth while to figure the piece as nearly of the natural size as the dimensions of these plates will allow. The original is 7½ in. high, and is of green glass with crimped bands of blue glass along the 'tears,' and is in perfect preservation,[2] Pl. CXXIV. The curiously small foot of all these vases is noticeable and associates them with the 'tumbler' type. The lobes of the lower range curl over and are fixed at the tips to the base. There are nearly always two ranges of these lobes, but a vase in the British Museum from Ashford, Kent, has three.

The continental parallels to the English vases shown on Pl. CXXV carry us further afield, and prove that exportation from the Gallic or Rhenish centres of fabrication supplied with these attractive but fragile objects other regions besides our own island. Scandinavia took a very considerable contribution. No. 1 is a vase about 10 in. high found at Faversham, Kent, and No. 2 its counterpart comes from Gotland. The well fashioned bowl, No. 3, is in the Museum at York, and there exists in a northern Museum an almost exact

[1] *Album Caranda*, pl. XLV, 1, and nouvelle série no. 1.

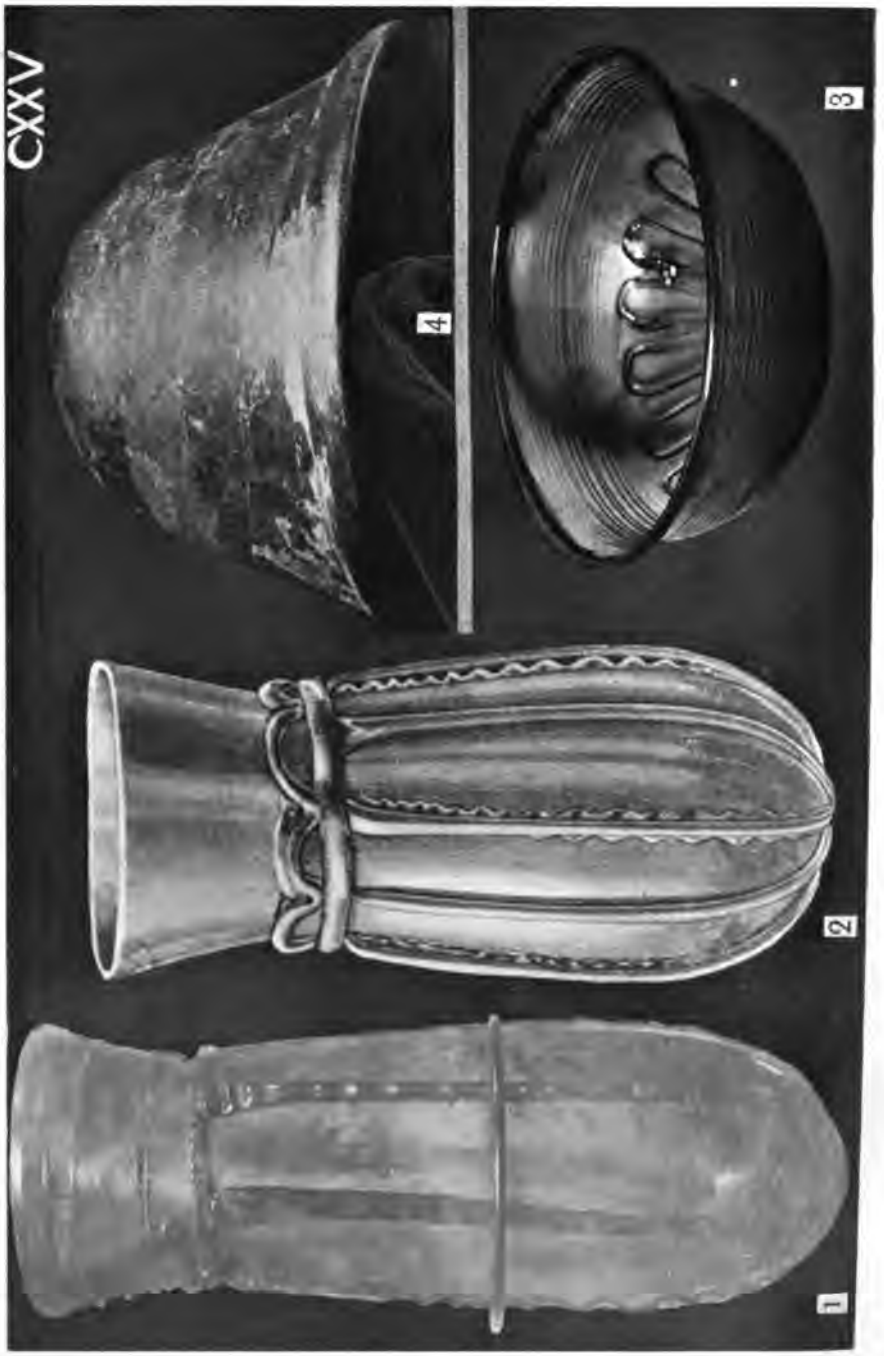
[2] Thanks are due to the owner, Captain Burdon, for his kindness in allowing the writer to photograph the cup.

THE CASTLE EDEN GLASS VASE



Height 7½ in.

GLASS VESSELS WITH FOREIGN PARALLELS



2 is Continental

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facing p. 485

GLASS VESSELS, WITH DETAIL



1 is 6 in. in diameter

3 is Roman

parallel that is however unpublished and cannot be figured here. Pl. cxxv, 4, gives a view of a handsome 'tumbler' bowl of exceptional size from Desborough, Northants, in the British Museum. It is of clouded green glass, 4 in. high and 7½ in. wide at the mouth.

Plates cxxvi to viii with the colour Plate, E, ii (p. 519), complete the illustrations of glass. On Pl. cxxvi is a notable Bifrons piece, No. 1, the most delicate and beautiful glass vessel that the writer knows of as found in an Anglo-Saxon grave. It is a fluted bowl 6 in. in diameter, exquisitely thin and quite perfect save that the material is coming away in flakes no thicker than gold leaf. The form and quality of the piece give it a far closer resemblance to the earlier glass of III and IV than is the case with the glass in Germanic graves generally, and it may be reckoned one of the earliest examples of all that are here figured. The iridescence of the decomposed material is very lovely to the eye, and some idea of the effect may be gained from the coloured illustration Pl. E, ii, which shows a 'tumbler' in the Dover Museum, 3 in. across, of a form not uncommon. The Bifrons bowl is lighter and more silvery in its opalescent hues. On the same plate No. 5 is a tiny vase found at Mitcham, and it is just as rough and thick as No. 1 is delicate and fragile. If any piece may be regarded as of insular fabrication this would be as likely an example as any, for it appears quite amateurish by the side of the more finely wrought specimens. No. 3 on Pl. cxxvi was also found at Bifrons. It is a small delicately finished glass bottle, 4¾ in. high, of a form and make that suggest a Roman provenance. Counterparts more or less exact can be found among the earlier vases figured in Kisa's Formentäfel A and B. No. 2, of deep blue glass with corded enrichment, is a product of the richly furnished grave at Broomfield in Essex (p. 599 f.). Its external diameter is 4¼ in. A pair of vases almost exactly similar in design and colour were found at Cuddesdon, Oxfordshire, and are noticed in Akerman's

Pagan Saxondom, p. 11. No. 4 on the Plate is a portion of an internal view of one of the 'claw glasses'—that shown on Pl. cxxiv—in which the formation of the 'pockets' is made visible.

Plate cxxvii shows, about two-thirds their natural size, three excellent specimens. Nos. 1 and 2 are from High Down, Sussex, a cemetery notable for its good examples of glass. No. 1 is a beaker quite perfect and 6 in. high, of a type we have already seen represented at Croydon, Pl. cxxi, 4. That next to it is a funnel-shaped vase 6 in. high, decorated with spirally wound threads of the same material, while No. 3, 5 in. high, comes from the cemetery at Sarre and is preserved at Maidstone. It is of a type represented often in continental collections, and ends below with a delicate projecting knob, so that it is decidedly of the 'tumbler' class. Lastly, Pl. cxxviii introduces us so far as Britain is concerned to a 'unicum,' in the form of a vessel with a Greek inscription on it, found at High Down and now preserved at Ferring Grange, Sussex. It is a slender vase 8 in. high, as usual without handles, and is ornamented by a process of abrasion with the wheel producing linear, floral, and animal forms, and lettering. There runs round the body of the vessel a frieze of animals wherein hounds are pursuing a hare in a style represented on Roman clay vases of 'Castor' and other wares and on a certain class of Roman glass vessels, while round the rim is an inscription in Greek, reading, or intended to read, ✠ ΤΓΙΕΙΝΩΝ ΧΡΩ, words equivalent to the more familiar Latin UTERE FELIX, and meaning 'drink from me, and may you keep your health.' It was the only object found in grave 49, but the gender of the participle would indicate that the grave was that of a man. The words are preceded by a cross, seen in the photograph, and this may be held to convey a Christian suggestion. As the object was certainly imported this gives no indication of the date of the cemetery.

There is no reason to conclude that the piece is of oriental

GLASS VESSELS FROM SUSSEX AND KENT



About ⅔ natural size

CXXVIII

facing p. 487

GLASS VASES FROM SUSSEX



1, $\frac{2}{3}$; 2, about $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size

make. It need have come no further than from the Rhineland, or even from one of the centres of glass fabrication in northern Gaul such as Vermand or Amiens, for there is epigraphic evidence of the presence at these places of Syrians, who may very well have carried on there the industry of glass making which was a speciality of the country of their origin. Greek words of a kind conveying a greeting are found on not a few glass vessels in north-western Europe. There is one in the Museum at Copenhagen, and M. Pilloy notices several in his *Études*.[1]

The other vase on Pl. CXXVIII, 11½ in. high, was found at Alfriston, Sussex, and is now in the Lewes Museum. It is of the funnel shape and is gracefully ornamented. A fair number of specimens of the type are known, a particularly fine and perfect example having been found at Kempston, Beds. One came to light quite recently at East Shefford, Berks, and another was found near Aylesbury, Bucks, while Jutish cemeteries in Kent and the Isle of Wight have produced specimens. In these vases there is no aperture at the small end of the funnel, and some examples abroad have a small foot. The type is represented by more than a score of specimens in Scandinavia.

[1] Kisa, *Das Glas*, 238 f.; Pilloy, *Études*, III, 296 f.

CHAPTER X

POTTERY; INLAID JEWELLERY; ROMANIZING OBJECTS IN BRONZE

POTTERY

AMONG THE vessels found in Anglo-Saxon graves those of clay take the first place, alike by reason of their numbers and of their archaeological interest. They are found in all parts of the Teutonic area in which Anglo-Saxon tomb furniture in any forms has come to light, and are on the whole as numerous as any article in the foregoing inventory except of course beads and the ubiquitous knife blade. They are of common material but of special forms and distinctive ornamentation.

The reason why this item of tomb furniture has been reserved for special treatment is the same reason that has kept back from analysis in the foregoing chapters the inlaid gold jewellery of Kent—the two classes of objects do not concern England alone but the connections of England and the English with continental lands and peoples. Hence the discussion of them involves a comparatively wide outlook with a proportionate demand for space that can best be met by devoting to each class a distinct section. When viewed from this more general standpoint the urns possess the special interest that they prove the presence over the whole coastal region of north-western Europe from Schleswig to the mouths of the Rhine of a population uniform in culture but differing culturally from the Teutonic peoples of the Hinterland and of Gaul, and furthermore afford evidence of a striking similarity between this population and the Teutonic settlers in

the major part of England. Pottery of the same marked type we shall see to be distributed over the whole of the regions indicated on both sides of the North Sea, and it is a very strong proof that the same people or set of peoples were at one time or another in occupation of the two districts.

With the exception of a certain limited class confined to Kent, the urns in question are all hand-made, that is, fashioned without the aid of the potter's wheel, and agree to the extent of a strong family likeness in their general size and shape. The sizes vary considerably. The largest English example that has come under the writer's personal notice is one 14 in. high and of ample girth found in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery discovered a few years ago in St. John's College cricket field, Cambridge, and they descend in size to little pots standing a couple of inches high. A very large number however will be found to run of an average height of about 7 in. or say from 5 in. to 9 in. The dimensions of many specimens are given in the text and the list of illustrations. In colour they vary within somewhat narrow limits. The general hue is a brownish grey that may be described as 'mud-colour' but this runs sometimes in the direction of red and at other times in that of black, while the tone ascends here and there to a lightish buff. The urns are ornamented in three ways, and it is by this ornamentation even more than by their shape that they are identified as belonging to this particular class of ceramic products. It must be noted however at the outset that unadorned urns without the special characteristics in question are found here and there under conditions which make it certain that they were used at the same time and by the same people as the ornamented ones of the marked type here under review.

The first and most distinctive form of the ornament consists in projecting bosses or flutes made commonly by forcing the soft clay of the wall of the vase out from the interior, but formed also at times by additions plastered on to the outside.

This is a method of ornamentation of old use in northern Germany where the vases which exhibit it are called generically 'Buckelurnen.' Some detailed photographs, Pl. CXXXIV, 9 (p. 499), illustrate the technique. The lowest fragment shows the projecting rib added in a separate piece on the outside, the two above, showing vase fragments from the interior, exhibit the process of forcing out the clay from within. A second method of ornamentation consists in impressed lines or markings arranged in simple linear patterns and formed either by incisions or shallow grooves made with the shaped end of a piece of wood, or by the pressure of the finger tip. Stamped ornaments are the third kind, and they are impressed on the wet clay by wooden stamps similar in kind to those used to-day for adorning pats of butter. On these modes of ornamentation a word must be said. The first two are of ancient German origin, and Professor Schuchhardt derives both the bosses and the impressed lines from the earliest clay vases made in imitation of the vessels of wicker-work bound with cords which are supposed to have preceded ceramic products. The stamped ornaments on the other hand are so common on Roman pottery, especially that for which the Gallic workers in clay were famous, that we may regard them as derived from this source. Now the pottery of the Teutonic invaders of Gaul differs as was noticed above from this pottery of north-western Germany and of England. These invaders were Franks, and Frankish or, as it is sometimes called, Merovingian pottery possesses the following characteristics. The urns are all made on the wheel and in consequence are sharper in their details and more neatly finished, when compared with the others; they are also smaller and of a different shape; they are never adorned with bosses but practically always with stamped patterns. Pl. CXXIX shows, on the left hand side,[1] some characteristic specimens, one, 1,

[1] In the plates illustrating the urns which follow, one object in view has been to bring out as clearly as possible the parallelism between English and

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facing p. 491

POTTERY, FRANKISH AND OF FRANKISH TYPES



1, 2, 3, are Continental

from the Frankish[1] cemetery at Herpes on the Charente in western France, the other two, 2, 3, from Rouen. The clean execution and sharp true lines of the mouldings are due to the use of the wheel. For purposes of comparison there are shown to the right of the plate some English urns which exhibit an approximation to the Frankish rare in our insular examples. The Frilford urn, No. 4, and the Berkshire example, 5, below it from Newbury, are not made on the wheel, but otherwise resemble both in form and ornamentation the transmarine pieces with which they also accord in size, for the three Frankish urns are each about 4 in. high, the Frilford one $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. and that from Newbury $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. The lowest example on the right, No. 6, was found at Broadstairs in a grave with a skeleton, so it is not cinerary. It is a handsome piece standing $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, and the sharp fillet at the neck makes it look as if it were made on the wheel. It is considered by some a Frankish importation, and in certain details and in ornament it clearly resembles Frankish models. It is however above their average size and is not of a characteristic Frankish shape; moreover it possesses very distinct though rudimentary bosses, so that it is probably of insular fabrication.

This use of the wheel, the neat finish, and the stamped ornaments, are natural in the case of pottery made in a Romanized region where the classical traditions may have lived on, while the ruder hand-formed ware with the primitive bosses and incisions belongs naturally to the unromanized regions north and east of the Rhine. The stamped ornament found in the latter regions may accordingly be regarded as an importation from Romanized lands, and though it occurs all over the northern region it is more in evidence the further we descend towards the south and west.

continental specimens. With this intention the plates are in most cases divided into a right and left hand portion, the English examples being placed on the right, the continental ones on the left.

[1] Not, as it has been sometimes called, Visigothic; see Boulanger, *Le Mobilier Funéraire*, p. lxxv f.

The pottery in question is found in Schleswig, in the regions about the mouth of the Elbe, in the province of Hanover, in the Dutch provinces of Groningen, Drenthe, and Friesland, and occurs also more sporadically in the districts nearer to the Rhine and even to the west of that river as far as the neighbourhood of Brussels, where the cemeteries of Harmignies and Anderlecht have yielded up a score or so of specimens, from which a selection is shown on Pl. cxxx, 1. These are all at Brussels. The top one to the left belongs to the Museum, that to the right, 7¼ in. high, to the Société Archéologique. Of the two in the lower row the larger is 4½ in. high, and they both form part of the collection of M. Poils, to whom, as to the Société, thanks are due for their kindness in allowing this publication. In our own country the same types are found abundantly in Yorkshire, in the Midland districts, and in East Anglia, and more sparingly in the Thames Valley and the southern counties, though very rarely in Kent. The finest continental specimens with bold and effective ornamentation are claimed for the Hanoverian province, but there are excellent examples also in the Museum at Leiden.

The question of the uses of these vessels introduces us to another consideration of the first importance. On the Continent, in Schleswig, Hanover, and the north and east generally, they are cremation urns and are found with fragments of burnt human bones in them, but as we move towards the west and south similar urns are found accompanying interments of the unburnt body. In our own country cremation urns are common in Yorkshire, the Midlands, and East Anglia, but they are often accompanied by interments of the whole body so that the cemetery is called a 'mixed' one, and such 'mixed' cemeteries occur also in Friesland, in the 'Terpen' about which something has been said already (p. 70). In such cemeteries empty urns or urns with no burnt bones in them may be found placed in the grave with an unburnt

facing p. 492

VASES OF SAXON TYPE FROM BELGIUM, ETC.



1 are Continental; 3 is Roman

facing p. 493

CINERARY URNS, N. GERMAN AND ENGLISH



1 is Continental

skeleton, and when these urns are of the same type as those with burnt bones therein, the temptation is strong to call them 'cinerary' urns. The words 'cinerary' or 'cremation' should however never be applied to urns of this class, especially in England, except in those cases where it is certain that burnt bones were contained in them. Such, it has been already explained in the Prefatory Note, is the usage in these chapters. The aspect of true cinerary or cremation urns in our museums is illustrated by Pl. cxxxi. Sometimes they have been cleared of everything but the actual fragments of burnt bones as in the case of the urn at Lüneburg, No. 1, and at other times they are left with the accumulated earth in them in which may be seen unmistakable osseous fragments. The broken urn Pl. cxxxi, 2, from Saxby, Leicestershire, is a good example.

Frankish cemeteries are practically all of the inhumation kind, 'les Francs,' M. Boulanger says,[1] 'n'ayant jamais incinéré.' As illustrating the contrast in this respect between the Elbeland cemeteries and those of Gaul, Kemble noticed long ago[2] that the great cemetery which he partly excavated near Lüneburg only produced two unburnt interments but about three thousand cremated ones, whereas a Rhineland cemetery he compared with it had seventy inhumed interments and not a single case of cremation. Hence the Frankish or Merovingian urns noticed above are never, west of the Rhine, found with burnt bones in them. It is a remarkable fact however that certain urns of this special Frankish character, evidently imported, have been found in some of the Frisian 'Terpen' used for cremation purposes and with burnt bones in them, whereas conversely, the few urns of the northern type that as we have just seen have come to light in the modern Belgium, a Frankish region, were placed by the side of inhumed skeletons.

These facts open up the whole question of the relation between these two methods for the disposal of the mortal

[1] *Le Mobilier Funéraire*, p. xxxi. [2] *Horae Ferales*, p. 102.

remains of the dead, and upon this the following few sentences must suffice.

Inhumation, or the burial of the body intact, is the oldest and most general custom, but at a certain period that may be fixed at somewhere about 1000 B.C., and chiefly among the peoples of the Aryan stock in the Bronze Age of culture, this was for a time superseded by the practice of burning the body so that only the ashes were preserved. The reason of this has been often discussed, but into these general questions it is impossible in these pages to enter. The references given previously (p. 148) may be found useful. It must be sufficient here to note the fact that after this practice of cremation had generally though not universally prevailed during the Bronze Age especially in its later period, in the succeeding Iron Age inhumation, especially in certain regions, came again into fashion. In the centuries immediately before the Christian era the relations of the two customs are somewhat complicated, but the Germans still held in the main to cremation until the migration period. The Romans also clung somewhat tenaciously to the practice of burning the body, but from about the end of II A.D. throughout the Roman Empire inhumation began to take its place. Whether or not the concealed influence of Christianity, or perhaps the potency of Jewish example which in some ways had affected classical society, may partly account for this cannot here be discussed. The fact suffices that in Mediterranean lands, and wherever Roman influence prevailed, from III A.D. onwards inhumation grew to be the fashion. In the world of the migration period, so long as the Teutonic peoples remained in their original seats they retained as a rule their ancestral custom of cremation, but when they neared or crossed the borders of the Roman Empire their practice began to change. Wherever the influence of Christianity penetrated thither of course it carried the principle of the burial of the unburnt body, but it would be

CXXXII

facing p. 495

HANOVERIAN AND E. ANGLIAN URNS



1 is Continental

a mistake to connect the change of habit with direct submission to the new faith. Inhumation was not confined at the time to professing Christians but it was gradually becoming more and more common within, on the borders of, and outside the Empire during the centuries from III to VI, soon after which time the Teutonic invaders of the Empire were all nominally Christians, and the old northern paganism only survived in Scandinavia.

It is the view taken in these volumes, that on the mainland over against our island as in England itself, the difference between cremation and inhumation was not in this period a matter of race but rather of date and latitude. In regard to time, in any given Teutonic region early burials would be cremated, later ones inhumed, though natural conservatism in some individuals or families, susceptibility to new influences in others, might retard or accelerate the change. In regard to place, at any one time regions nearer to the romanized districts south and west of the Rhine would show more inhumed burials than those further away, and this applies to our own country as well as to the Continent. The people who used the bossy vases cremated while still in their northern seats, but by the time they had penetrated beyond the Rhine they were burying their dead, while in the intermediate district of Friesland cremation burials and inhumed ones accompanied by the same characteristic type of urn are found at practically the same levels in the Terpen. So too in our own country, it is a mistake to say that the Angles practised cremation, the Saxons and Jutes inhumation, on account of racial differences. The latter peoples occupied the southern regions of the country and may have crossed to our shores from southern seats on the Continent, and with them the change of burial custom was far advanced—in the case of the Jutes probably complete. The Saxons, or at any rate the forefathers of the Gewissae or West Saxons, who penetrated the country by way of the Thames Valley, were still to a

considerable extent practising cremation at the time of their first settlement (p. 581 f.), but later on abandoned it. The Angles, who settled further to the north and had strong northern affinities shown specially in their use of the cruciform brooch, retained the practice of cremation to a later date though their mixed cemeteries show that the new custom was all the time making its influence felt. The remarkable prevalence of cremation in East Anglia may be due to an early occupation by the Angles of this province.

The presence in graves of urns holding the ashes of the dead needs no special explanation. Some receptacle for these was necessary and the vessel of burnt clay readily offered itself. Vases of bronze, and of glass, were used for a similar purpose by the Greeks and by the Romans including the Romano-British population, but taking the cremation cemeteries of the ancient world as a whole pottery furnished by far the greater number of the receptacles required. The material for these was cheap and accessible, their manufacture easy, and they could be invested with a handsome appearance that did honour to the defunct, while symbolical ornament could readily be introduced. This leads to the question whether the enrichment of the class of urns here under notice has any funereal significance. The bosses and linear patterns and stamped devices appear as a rule to have only an aesthetic purpose, but Professor Mestorf saw in some of the ornaments on the urns in Schleswig symbols of a religious kind, one of which is the central disc surrounded by a ring of dots seen on the urn from Leeuwarden, Pl. CXXXVI, 3, on the Hamburg urn, Pl. CXXXIII, 3, and in a better example on the fine cremation urn from Newark, Notts, in the Museum at Hull, Pl. CXXXVI, 7. This she considered a solar emblem, but on the other hand Dr. Sophus Müller[1] only sees in it the classical rosette. This motive has been already noticed (p. 110) in

[1] *Nordische Altertumskunde*, II, 96.

facing p. 497

URNS. CONTINENTAL AND ENGLISH



1, 2, 3, are Continental

connection with the coins, and it may occur early as a direct classical legacy, or comparatively late as a symptom of the Carolingian renaissance. On several of our English urns, as on that from Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, No. 8 on this same Pl. CXXXVI, and the Shropham urn, Pl. CXXXII, 2, appears the swastika or fylfot, an equal armed cross with the ends bent at right angles towards the side, a device which some writers invest with mystic symbolism of an awe-inspiring kind. To the present writer the appearance of this device on Teutonic pottery or objects of metal is so casual that he attaches no more significance to it than to its occurrence on old Greek painted vases of the 'Melian' class, where it is obviously nothing but a fragment of a broken up key-pattern ornament. It may be frankly admitted here that the writer regards with considerable indifference the attempts that are sometimes made to read abstruse symbolism into the decorative devices found on objects of the migration period. Wherever a simple explanation of these devices on an aesthetic basis appears plausible it has in these chapters been preferred to one of a recondite kind. The morphology, the art, the technique of the objects in question offer so much of interest and of difficulty that it will be well not to complicate the treatment of them by indulging in speculations as to possible meanings for the devices that they bear. This procedure has been adopted in the case of the coins and of the tomb furniture and will as a rule be adhered to in the chapters that follow.

Handsomely decorated cremation urns may accordingly be taken as a matter of course, but the appearance of vessels of the same kind set empty by the side of the inhumed bodies is not so easily explained. The food-vessel theory is of course well known, and finds some support in the fact that hazel nuts have been actually found in a bronze vase placed with an inhumed body in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Faversham, Kent. This vase with its edible contents was shown Pl. CXIV, 4 (p. 467), and may bear up as best it can the doctrine that the numerous

urns of pottery, of wood, and of bronze, found in Teutonic interments, were placed there for the purpose of furnishing a store of sustenance for the deceased. This is one of the questions which like that of the symbolic devices cannot be discussed in these pages without taking up space that can be better occupied with other topics. The placing of the empty urn by the head of the skeleton may perhaps best be explained as a survival from the traditional custom of the use of the urn in cremation burials.

The pottery of which there is here question is further illustrated on Pll. CXXXII to VI. The specimens were selected primarily to exhibit the general characteristics of these particular ceramic products and it will be seen that a family likeness runs through them all. The shapes however and the enrichment show considerable variety and the differences are as far as possible illustrated. On the plates, a sufficient number of examples of different kinds have been assembled to bring out into clear light this variety in form and in ornamentation. The phenomenon here is the same as that already observed in the case of the coins. The Anglo-Saxon craftsman, whether he had under his hand the commonest clay or the nobler materials silver and bronze, did not show himself the dull boorish plodder that popular prejudice would see in him, but a personage alert, individual, ingenious, by no means satisfied to reproduce the same thing over and over again. Specimens have been chosen from most of the continental localities indicated above, but the special object of the grouping has been to bring into view the similarity of the urns found in England to those from the continental sites. On each plate the urns on the right of the vertical line of division are from Britain while those on the other side are continental. The similarity that rules throughout is convincing evidence that the people who made and used them occupied at one time or another the continental regions shown on the maps and also forced their way into Britain. Historical records give

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URNS, CONTINENTAL AND ENGLISH



1, 2, 3, 4, are Continental

grounds for dubbing these people 'Saxons,' and accordingly the continental name for this pottery is 'Saxon,' whereas, since in our own country it is chiefly found in the north and in East Anglia, we are more accustomed to call the urns 'Anglian.' On this a word is said later on (p. 581).

Pl. cxxxii shows two handsome urns representing, the upper one, 1, the Elbe-mouth cemeteries in northern Hanover, the lower one, 2, East Anglia. The Hanoverian urn, from Wehden, is ornamented with projecting bosses and ribs and with incised lines, but is exceptional in this class of vessels in that it has preserved in the human face and breasts reminiscences of the older German 'Gesichtsurne' found in Posen and other districts further to the east. The lower vase, in the British Museum from Shropham in Norfolk, is equally handsome but differs from the other in that stamped ornaments form its chief decoration. Stamped ornaments, as will be noticed in the examples on the plates, are on the whole rarer on the Continent than with us, and are less seen the further north we go.

Pl. cxxxiii shows three English urns, two of which, 4, 6, are cinerary, and three continental specimens of the same general character. The fine example at Leiden, 2, has stamped patterns as well as bosses. The Geestemünde urn, 1, from the great cemetery at Westerwanna near Cuxhaven, where 1200 cremation urns have already been found though the necropolis is only half explored, resembles the cinerary urn, 4, from Norwich in the alternating vertical and horizontal projections. No. 3, from Altenwalde near Cuxhaven, is in the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde, and shows sharp wart-like bosses, that also appear on No. 6, a cremation urn from Heworth just outside York. No. 5 is a very handsome urn, 9½ in. high, from Sandby, Beds, formerly in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Pl. cxxxiv exhibits remarkable cases of similarity. No. 6, a cinerary urn from Kempston, Beds, shows, besides the characteristic English stamped orna-

ments, a series of what look like projecting brows with bosses under them, that may possibly be reminiscent of the human face which we have seen surviving on the Hanoverian urn Pl. CXXXII, 1. The same motive treated somewhat differently appears on the Leiden example, No. 2, from Hoog Halen in the Drenthe province. The urn No. 3 in Kiel Museum, from Hammoor B, a cemetery in Holstein where the finds are accorded an average date of about 400 A.D., is curiously like the urn No. 7 beside it, at Sheffield. The two lowest on Pl. CXXXIV, Nos. 4, 8, are again notably alike, but the urn at Burton, 8, from the Stapenhill cemetery near that town, differs from its Hanoverian twin, 4, in that it is not cinerary, but was found empty beside an inhumed female skeleton. Pl. XVIII, 3 (p. 177), shows the urn in position at the head of the skeleton. The two urns in the topmost row, Nos. 1, 5, exhibit as ornamental motive the spiral. No. 1, at Leeuwarden, gives it in a form resembling the Greek wave pattern, while the cinerary urn, 8 in. high, from Kettering in the Northampton Museum, No. 5, shows it degenerating. Pl. CXXXV offers parallels that appeal at once to the eye. At Bremen, it may be mentioned, an urn of this class (not one of those shown on the Plate) has a small piece of glass let into it like a window, a curious feature that may be paralleled in an urn of 'Anglian' type in the Museum at Lincoln shown Pl. CXXX, 2. A few other examples are known in North Germany and in England.[1] The two Rutland urns from North Luffenham may have contained cremated bones, see 'Anglo-Saxon Remains found at North Luffenham, Rutland, previously to 1900,' by V. B. Crowther-Beynon, F.S.A.[2]

As a rule the urns both at home and abroad are rounded underneath or just flattened sufficiently to make them stand steadily, but sometimes, and more often abroad than at home, they have a moulded foot. The use of handles may at this

[1] E. Thurlow Leeds, *The Archaeology*, etc., p. 92.

[2] *Associated Societies' Reports*, 1904.

NORTH GERMAN AND ENGLISH URNS



CONTINENTAL AND ENGLISH URNS



1, 2, 3, are Continental

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facing p. 501

DETAILS OF ENGLISH URNS



point be noticed. Well formed handles occur with fair frequency on the continental urns in the various districts previously mentioned, with the exception of the most northerly cemetery where the urns have been found, that of Borgstedt in Schleswig; they are seen on Hanoverian and Frisian examples, Pl. CXXXVI, 1, 3, and are also well represented at Leiden. No instance is known however of their occurrence on urns of the strictly 'Anglian' type in this country,[1] and this is after all in accordance with what we should expect. The ornamented urn is a form of art the *raison d'être* of which is its employment in connection with cremation, and when cremation was going out of fashion, as was clearly the case among the Teutonic settlers in England, it would be natural that the form should suffer impoverishment. In this connection the vases on Pl. CXXXVII are of interest as they are singularly developed in form. No. 2 is a view of the lower part of the Newark urn at Hull with the rosettes, already noticed (p. 496), with beneath it some of the fragments of burnt bones which it contained. No. 1 came to light recently at Alfriston, Sussex, while No. 4 comes from High Down in the same county, so that the form may be local in Sussex. No. 3 is in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Farnham, Dorset, labelled as from 'London'—the place no doubt of its purchase. It belongs evidently to the same class. The boldly projecting horn-like protuberances are a notable feature as well as the moulded feet. On Pl. CXXXVI the curious resemblance between the urn No. 6, from Eye, Suffolk, at Bury St. Edmunds, and that at Leeuwarden, No. 2, will not escape notice. The urn No. 4 was found at Shalcombe Down, Isle of Wight, close to

[1] Rudimentary handles occurring on another class of English urns of simpler make will presently be noticed, and there is a single exceptional one-handled vessel in the British Museum, from Chessell Down, of which a figure is given Pl. CXXXVI, 5. A small one-handled jug in the Maidstone K.A.S. Museum, Pl. CXXXIX, 5, is pretty obviously of Frankish provenance. A unique handled vase of very early date and of a continental type found in Northamptonshire is noticed later on (p. 508).

Chessell Down, whence comes the handled jug next to it, No. 5. Urn No. 8 has been already referred to on account of its swastika ornament (p. 497).

The fabrication of hand-made urns of this type is a matter of some interest, as the material may be manipulated in several different fashions. These are discussed in an interesting article by Ed. Krause in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxxiv, 'Ueber die Herstellung vorgeschichtliche Thongefässe.' The various

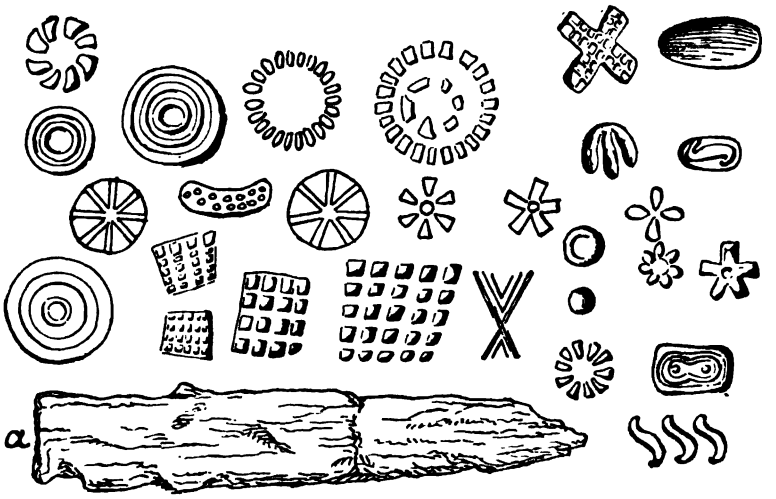


Fig. 18.—Patterns on Funereal Pottery.

processes may be reduced to four, (1) the 'mud pie' process in which the vessel is fashioned by the hands out of clay in the lump, all in one piece without any implements except perhaps a tool of bone or wood for the final smoothing of the surface; (2) a process in which the clay is beaten out to shape over some sort of anvil or mould; (3) the process of building up the vase with previously formed separate pieces laid one to the other and made to adhere by pressure; (4) the coiled technique, whereby the urn is formed by coiling round and round in spiral fashion a continuous rope or long thin rouleau

of clay. M. Franchet in his recent *Céramique Primitive*[1] dismisses the subject in summary fashion by saying that the earliest vases are all built up, as the French phrase goes, 'au colombin,' by process No. 3. The vessels with which we are here concerned give no indication inside or out that they were built up in this way or were coiled, and it is much more likely that they were fashioned as it were from the lump by the 'mud pie' process. An experienced piecer of broken urns in one of our great museums has assured the writer that he believes they were all made by this sort of rule of thumb, though perhaps finally smoothed by a tool, such as one found at Sancton, Yorks, and figured, from *Hull Museum Publications* No. 66, in Fig. 18a. The firing of the urns of this class is nearly always very imperfect, and the clay is as tender as that of a Greek vase.

A word may be said about the stamped patterns illustrated on so many of the vases now passed in review. The two devices for which a religious significance has been claimed, the rosette and the swastika, have been already referred to (p. 496 f.). Apart from the simple impressed dots and incised lines, we find at times impressed circles like those that figure on the bone plaques and combs (p. 293), and markings like a double comma with the tails joined. The star pattern and a motive like lattice work are however the most characteristic devices. There are four-pointed stars (or equal armed crosses), five-pointed, six, seven, eight, and even ten-pointed stars, as well as multiplex stars or rosettes, all arranged in a round or surrounded by incised circles. The lattice-work patterns are not, like the stars or rosettes, radiating, but are based on the right angle and arranged within rectangular, triangular or circular bounding lines. They remind us of the stamped patterns on the morsels of gold foil used to line the cloisons in Kentish inlaid work (p. 513) so as to give an effect of sparkle. Some specimens are shown at the lower part of

[1] Paris, Geuthner, 1911.

Pl. cxxxvii of stars and lattice-work devices. The examples Nos. 5, 6, have an interest of a special kind. They are fragments of two urns from Theale, Berks, in the Museum at Reading. They are different urns, the one being of reddish clay the other of grey, but they appear to be marked with the self-same stamp, which is an argument in favour of their being of local make. The lattice-work patterns on No. 7 are from a fragment in the collection of Lord Grantley. Fig. 18 reproduces a set of these linear motives brought together by Mr. Thomas Sheppard, Curator of the Hull Museum, in the excellent *Hull Museum Publications*, Nos. 66, 67, together with others which the writer has added from his own notes. Some impressions, Mr. Sheppard remarks, seem to have been made from Roman signet rings. A sketch of the bone smoothing tool referred to above (p. 502) has been added and is marked 'a.'

As a necessary appendix to this discussion of the normal urns of the 'Saxon' or 'Anglian' type, a word must be said about certain forms of pottery found in Germanic cemeteries that are of a different kind. We will deal first with the plain unornamented vessels that occur in many Teutonized districts in our island and abroad, and might at first sight be taken for products of a distinct age and culture. Though so simple in appearance they represent a more advanced technique than the others in that their smooth globular form suggests fabrication on the wheel, whereas the bosses of the more elaborate products are derived from a more primitive tradition of hand-wrought ware. The plain urns may have been inspired by reminiscences of the smooth wheel-made Roman vessels of which a specimen was shown Pl. cxxx, 3 (p. 492), in the shape of a Roman cinerary urn in the Museum at York, with the burnt bones inside it. They are found in situations and in connections that prove them to be contemporary with the bossy and stamped urns of the 'Saxon' or 'Anglian' type. No. 1 on Pl. cxxxviii is

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facing p. 505

PLAIN URNS FROM ENGLISH AND CONTINENTAL CEMETERIES



1 is Continental

a good specimen found with burnt human bones in it in the Terp of Hoogebeintum in Friesland and now in the Museum at Leeuwarden. It is 9 in. high and with the bones was found a quoit shaped jewelled brooch of VII type. With this may be compared No. 2, an example at Burton from the Stapenhill cemetery, Staffordshire. This is similar in shape and make but it was not a cremation urn, and it is much smaller, measuring in height 5½ in., so that it may represent the degeneration of the type. The wide mouthed vessels by its side, Nos. 3, 4, and the three in the bottom line are of a kind very often represented in our cemeteries, and found with burnt human bones as well as in an empty state.

Such urns occur in cemeteries side by side with the enriched ones and in close conjunction with objects of an unmistakably Anglo-Saxon character. Thus, No. 4, 7 in. high, was found at Stapenhill empty by the side of a skeleton furnished with an Anglo-Saxon knife. No. 8 was accompanied by skulls, a knife, Anglo-Saxon brooches, and beads, in a barrow at Feering, Essex. It is in the Colchester Museum, 5½ in. high. No. 6, from Sancton, Yorks, in the Hull Museum, 9 in. high, contained no bones but some fragments of bronze. On the other hand the plain urn, No. 5, is a cinerary urn from the Ipswich cemetery, and some of the fragments of burnt bones found in it and in other urns from the site are shown beneath it.[1] No. 7, a globular urn found at Northfleet near Gravesend, Kent, and now in the Maidstone Museum, still exhibits within it the cremated bones it has always held. It is one of a class of cinerary urns of great archaeological interest that represent the rite of cremation as practised in riparian cemeteries along the Thames Valley (p. 627).

The two plain urns of this class shown Pl. CXXXVIII, 3, 4, from Brixworth, Northants, and Stapenhill, exhibit the

[1] This photograph is owed to the kindness of Mr. Frank Woolnough, F.R.Met.S., Curator of the Ipswich Museum.

peculiarity of rudimentary handles in the form of pinched out projections of the clay, or as they are called in Scotland 'lugs,' pierced with a small hole through which can be passed a thong for the purpose of carriage. This arrangement carries us back to the ceramics of the neolithic age when the same device was in vogue, and the appearance of the feature at this period and in these connections is a very curious fact, especially in view of the absence of handles from the contemporary English vases of the more ornate kind. What explanation should be given of this class of vases is difficult to see. It has been suggested that they were the common household vessels used for culinary and other purposes, and the large urn from the cemetery at Sancton, Yorks, Pl. CXXXVIII, 6, has been held to show marks of employment over the fire. The pot is however in a condition that makes any judgement on such a point very uncertain.

A second class of exceptional urns is confined to Kent and these differ from all our others in the characteristic that they are formed, though by rather unskilled hands, on the potter's wheel. The vases in question are bottle shaped and are ornamented partly with concentric incised lines and partly with small depressed dots arranged in double wavy lines or grouped into simple patterns such as rosettes and impressed on the soft clay by means of a roulette. There are never any bosses or handles. The vessels are no doubt made on the wheel as the narrow necks are not in accordance with the traditions of hand-made pottery, but the incised concentric lines, a form of ornament suitable for wheel work, are sometimes so irregular and imperfect in their parallelism that it is evident that the vases were made in this country and by workmen to whom the use of the wheel was comparatively unfamiliar. The Roman potteries in Kent, as at Upchurch by the Medway, may easily have transmitted the tradition of the classical technique to the new settlers.

The vases are apparently not a mere Roman survival,



1, 7, are Continental

CXXXIX
facing p. 507

native in origin as well as in fabrication, but are of a kind represented, as Mr. Leeds has recently shown, in the cemeteries of the Rhineland, and so connecting the Jutes of Kent with the continental regions from which they may have crossed to our shores. They possess on this account considerable archaeological interest, and may be placed with the inlaid Kentish jewellery as furnishing evidence of the provenance and the ethnological relations of this section of our Teutonic immigrants. From this point of view the bottle shaped vases will receive attention later on (p. 741 f.). They are found mostly in the earlier Jutish graves and were especially well represented at Sarre, whence came more than a dozen which are now in the K.A.S. Museum at Maidstone. They run commonly from about 8 to 12 inches in height, and are better fired than the ordinary urns of the 'Anglian' type.

On Pl. cxxxix, No. 1 shows a continental prototype of these Jutish vases. It is in the Museum at Brussels from the cemetery at Trivières[1] and stands 10½ in. high. This is better made than the English examples, and as a contrast there is placed beside it, No. 2, the most recently discovered specimen of the kind in this country, a vase with a broken neck found in 1910 in the cemetery on the down above Folkestone (p. 141). It is now about 9 in. high. The incised lines which encircle it are not nearly so true as in the continental example, and the markings below on the body of the vase though showing that it was wheel made are unworkmanlike. The specimen below, No. 4, found in the churchyard at Harrietsham between Maidstone and Ashford and now in the K.A.S. Museum at the former place, is of reddish clay and 11¼ in. high. No. 3 is from the cemetery at Sarre, whence also comes the jug No. 5, which is quite of a Frankish type and was probably imported.

[1] Vases of this type are very rare in the Belgian cemeteries and almost unknown in France, but are far more common on the Rhine.

Lastly, to complete the subject of Anglo-Saxon pottery, the jug No. 6 introduces us to one of the most remarkable discoveries in an archaeological sense connected with our Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. It is a vessel of coarse yellowish grey paste about 8 in. high, with a single handle that has the peculiarity of being perforated so as to serve as a spout. It had been used for a cremated burial and some of the fragments of bone found in it are seen below it. The point of interest is that this special form of urn is represented in the cemeteries of northern Germany and Scandinavia, where it would date in V, and its appearance in a riparian grave in Northamptonshire, at Great Addington on the Nene, is an interesting link of connection between the earliest Anglian settlers of this part of England and their ancestral seats.

INLAID JEWELLERY

The comparison of the sepulchral pottery of Anglo-Saxon England with that of the Continent has indicated that the Teutonic invaders of our country did not descend abruptly on these shores like the Vikings of four centuries later by a straight course from the far north, but came borne on the crest of a great movement of migration which affected all the lands from the mouth of the Elbe to those of the Rhine. The characteristic forms of 'Anglian' pottery as they appear in our own country are not to be paralleled from Schleswig alone, but from the whole region between the two rivers just mentioned, a region that the kinsmen of our own Angles and Saxons made for a time at any rate their own. In the case of the Jutes of Kent, their urns we have just seen are of a special type not represented in the North at all, but common in the Rhineland districts with which the future colonizers of Kent must have had considerable dealings. Still pursuing this branch of the subject we will now go on to examine another characteristic Kentish product for which the Rhine-

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DATABLE INLAID JEWELS OF KENTISH TYPE



3, natural size; 1, 2, somewhat enlarged
4 is Continental

land and the eastward regions reached through the Rhine Valley furnish prototypes. A comparative study of this particular product will bear out the impression already derived from other sources, that the Jutes when they settled in Kent had already established relations with those parts of the Continent lying over against our south-eastern shores.

In dealing with the different forms of the fibula represented in Anglo-Saxon tomb furniture one form specially prevalent in Kent was passed lightly over and left for subsequent treatment. This was the disc fibula adorned with inlays of semi-precious stones in the form of sliced garnets, varied with glass pastes of other hues. One specimen of a simple kind was illustrated among the objects from the Bifrons cemetery Pl. xxxvi, 10 (p. 245), but the whole subject must now be taken up in a more formal manner and treated not in relation to English finds alone but on considerably broader lines.

Ornaments of gold inlaid with garnets and coloured glass pastes form one of the most striking features in general collections of antiquities from Germanic graves of the migration period, and no Teutonic area has furnished specimens of this work more numerous and more excellent than has Kent. These Kentish objects, it will be shown, were made in the county itself and were not only in common use there among the well-to-do classes but were imported to other parts of the country where they have come to light in a sporadic manner. One specimen of this inlaid jewellery, found in the north of England but of Kentish character, is of especial value in that it can be within certain limits dated. This is the pectoral cross found upon the body of St. Cuthbert when his grave in Durham Cathedral was opened in 1827,[1] shown Pl. cxl, 3. It was evidently a reliquary cross worn from motives of private devotion, not a badge of episcopal

[1] The St. Cuthbert relics as a whole will receive full treatment in a subsequent volume.

office, for it was discovered not above but under the liturgical robes, and had apparently not been seen when the body was translated in XII. It measures $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. across the arms and is reproduced the size of the original. Under the central piece of inlay there was probably a relic.

St. Cuthbert died in 687 and the appearance of the cross shows that it had been worn for a considerable time, so that the date of its fabrication might be about the middle of VII. Another datable piece is in the British Museum and is known as the Wilton pendant, Pl. CXL, 1, 2. It was found in Norfolk, an isolated discovery, and consists in a genuine gold solidus of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius I (613-641) mounted in a cruciform frame of gold with garnet inlays on the front of it, No. 2. The craftsman has in one way rather bungled his task. He has placed the obverse of the coin bearing the imperial effigy at the back of the pendant, No. 1, possibly with a view of giving to the cross which appears as the reverse device the prominent place on the front of the jewel. He has however disposed the bust in an upright position as the pendant hangs, and this involved the appearance of the cross on the front upside down. It is interesting to compare this arrangement with that of a similar piece of Frankish origin but of much slighter make in the Museum at Leiden,[1] No. 4 on Pl. CXL. Here on the front of the coin enclosed in a thin frame of gold filigree work appears the obverse of the piece with the imperial bust head upwards, while the reverse type, a Victory, necessarily placed head downwards, is tucked away at the back. The comparison is instructive. The Frankish work is more scholarly, and this has been already noted as one of the differences between the two sides of the Channel. Artistically speaking the Merovingian craftsman had no advantage over his insular brother, but Roman civilization was more with him, and there was in Gaul a more firmly rooted ecclesiastical organization with

[1] Found at Wieuwerd near Leeuwarden, but of Frankish provenance.

Pl. D

facing p. 511

INLAID WORK, KENTISH AND CONTINENTAL



I



II



III



IV

II and IV, about natural size;
III, enlarged more than twice linear
II and III are Continental

Roman traditions at its back, so that his scholarship, as shown for example in the reproduction of inscriptions on coins, was in advance of that of the comparatively untutored Anglo-Saxon.

The curious setting of the coin in the Wilton pendant is significant chronologically. The goldsmith evidently felt bound to bring the device of the cross into special prominence and this reminds us that in 628, on the conclusion of a peace with Persia, the Emperor Heraclius recovered the true wood of the holy Cross. This event impressed Christendom, and the cruciform shape of the pendant with the arrangement of the coin are no doubt connected chronologically with the historical event, so that the fabrication of the piece would fall in the second quarter of VII. It is accordingly clear that these handsome jewels were being manufactured in VII and for Christian purposes; the tradition of the craft goes back however to far earlier times, and the history of it will presently be traced in the needful detail. It will be of advantage however first to arrive at some clear understanding of the work in question from the technical standpoint.

The technical character of this work as we find it represented in Kent may be elucidated by a detailed description of what is one of the very finest extant examples of the technique, an inlaid brooch of gold found in the tomb of a lady at Kingston Down in Kent in the year 1771, and now the chief treasure of the Mayer-Faussett collection in the Museum at Liverpool. The jewel, together with a portion of the face on a larger scale, is given in the natural colours on the Frontispiece to Vol. III, Pl. A. It may date from the early part of VII.

The piece is a disc fibula, that is a brooch consisting in a continuous circular plate with pin attachment at the back. Of such disc fibulae there are several kinds. The form here in question has two plates, a front and back, set at a little distance from each other and united by a rim, the vacant

space being filled in with some kind of cement or paste. This, which remains in the case of a disc fibula in the Dover Museum that has lost its back plate, appears to be of a resinous composition. The Kingston fibula is in diameter $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. At the rim it is $\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick, but as the front plate is slightly convex the thickness in the middle is $\frac{3}{8}$ in. The back plate is of gold like the front, and save for the bronze pin no other metal but gold is employed. In this the jewel differs from the other disc fibulae of the kind both at home and abroad, for the back plate in all other examples with which the writer is acquainted is of bronze or silver. Nos. 5, 6, on Pl. CXL exhibit the treatment in detail of the back. The pin projects from a kind of drum the upper surface of which is set with gems, and this drum revolves in a horizontal plane inside a casing, but only moves sufficiently to allow the point of the pin to enter or be released from the catch. A spring to prevent the pin's point dropping and so slipping out of the catch is provided by the elasticity of the pin itself against the resistance offered by a stud that projects below the pin at its butt end. For additional security a loop is attached to the back plate to which a chain or cord was fastened when the precious piece was in wear. The exterior of the upright casing and the part of the plate surrounding it are ornamented with filigree work in gold showing debased zoomorphic ornament corresponding to a date in the early part of VII. The catch is a somewhat elaborate work of art and is fashioned like the head of an animal, filigree work adorning the plate on each side of the neck. The rim of the whole jewel is enriched with a band of work of this same kind in gold, and there are three staples of gold driven in through the rim apparently to keep the back and front plates together.

This careful elaboration of the back part of the brooch prepares us for the very sumptuous and at the same time precise and well-considered treatment of the front. Here, as the Frontispiece, Pl. A, shows, a plate of gold slightly convex

is covered over with compartments formed by strips of gold soldered down upright upon the ground and again soldered together at the points of contact, as seen in the enlarged portion. A round central boss is considerably raised and is also marked out with similar compartments. The construction of these cloisons is well shown in a piece in the Museum at Worms, where they remain intact while the settings have all disappeared, No. II on Pl. D (p. 511). Into the spaces thus formed were inlaid coloured gems or pastes, or else panels of gold plate on which are ornaments in relief of a specially Teutonic kind. The compartments are planned according to a cruciform scheme, into which however we need not read any Christian significance. Between the central boss and the circumference are four rounds, and between these four straight bars suggesting an equal-armed cross. A series of five concentric bands combine with these forms to produce a number of variously shaped spaces, that are again subdivided by the upright strips of gold which are often bent into a step-like pattern, a form characteristic of the compartments or cloisons in this Kentish inlaid work. Most of these cloisons are filled in with thin slices of garnet, and to increase the effect of the rich crimson colour of these the floor of the compartment is covered with a thin sheet of gold foil on which a pattern of small squares has been stamped, similar, only on a minute scale, to some of the patterns impressed by stamps on the clay vases. The light penetrating the thin slip of transparent stone is reflected back through it with the added lustre of the shining facets of the gold foil. To secure more variety, four square slabs of the semi-precious stone set diamond fashion midway between the four rounds are of darker hue than the rest, as is seen in the enlarged portion, while a certain number of the spaces tastefully disposed over the face of the brooch are filled with glass pastes of a dark blue colour. In certain places, such as the ring round the raised central boss and the middle parts of the four round

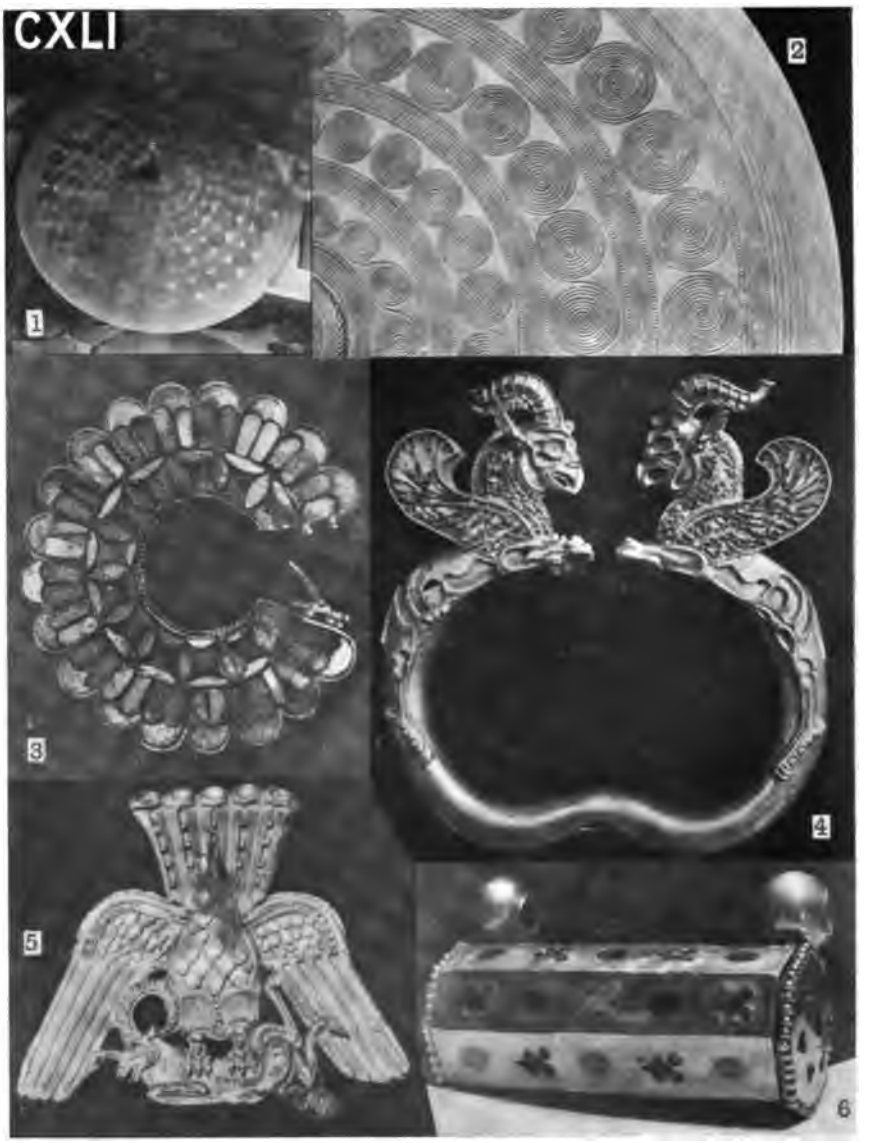
spaces disposed cruciform fashion, there occurs a white substance, used very commonly in this Kentish jewellery in the form of a convex button in the midst of which is set a rounded garnet.[1] The nature of this white substance is an unsolved puzzle, and on this a word is said later on (p. 544). Its importance is due to the fact that it is an English speciality of rare occurrence on the Continent, being practically unknown, as used in this fashion, in the disc fibulae of this same inlaid type so common in Merovingian Gaul. The ornamentation in the compartments where there is no inlay is a debased form of the characteristic Germanic animal ornament a discussion of which will be found in Chapter VI (p. 325 f.).

The garnets used are divided into thin slices by the process known to modern gem-cutters as 'slitting.' This is now achieved[2] by pressing the stone against the edge of a thin disc of metal revolving very rapidly, that is charged with some erosive material in fine powder and made into a paste with water. The wheel is of soft metal and the fine hard grains of the powder bite into the edge of it, fixing themselves there like little teeth so that the wheel becomes equivalent to a circular saw. The thin slips are cut to shape by wheels of the same kind, or, when the facets are hollow, by being pressed against revolving cylinders of suitable diameters. Polishing is effected by pressure against flat revolving surfaces charged with rotten stone or other substances of the kind. Mr. Claremont notices that the apparatus of the lapidary of to-day is characterized by extreme simplicity and even primitiveness. The only appliance he disposes of that was not known in Anglo-Saxon times is diamond dust for an erosive, which has now replaced the emery powder (corundum) employed by the

[1] A gem with convex polished top rounded and not cut into facets is said to be mounted 'en cabochon.' Garnets treated in this fashion are popularly termed 'carbuncles.'

[2] Mr. L. Claremont, *The Gem-Cutter's Craft*, London, 1906, gives a technical account of these processes.

EARLY EXAMPLES OF INLAID WORK, ETC.



All Continental or Asiatic

ancients. For the rest, the wheels and other appliances at present in use were no doubt available in the Kent of about the year 600. In this connection reference may be made to an object in the Mayer collection at Liverpool that was probably found in a grave in Kent. It is a block of rock crystal measuring 4½ in. in its longest dimension and is shown Pl. CXLVII, 11 (p. 537). A portion has been sliced off it, above and to the left, by the use of a wheel of the kind referred to, and below this the photograph shows the edge of a narrow cut that penetrates part of the way through the mass. The technique is just the same as that of the garnet slitting. With regard to the skill in manipulation involved, we must remember the very high standard in matters of technique attained by the classical and older oriental peoples as well as by barbaric craftsmen in the Bronze Age, and it is worth while illustrating this by a single outstanding example. No. 1 on Pl. CXLI shows a bronze breast ornament of the Early Bronze Age in Denmark, on which the spirals have been impressed with a 'tracer,' also of bronze, with a certainty of hand that is little short of miraculous.[1] No. 2 on the same plate gives a portion on an enlarged scale. We have accordingly a right to expect manipulative facility and precise execution from the Germanic metal worker of the migration period. The work is in the technical sense of the term 'barbaric,' in that it belongs to the regions outside the classical world, but 'barbaric' in this sense does not carry with it any connotation such as 'rude' or 'clumsy.' As a matter of fact the execution of this Kentish brooch is in every way admirable, and on this point the following may be of interest.

On the question of materials and technique in this characteristic work of the migration period, the writer consulted a professional expert in precious stones familiar with their structure and history as well as with their manipulation in practice, and found him extremely kind and willing

[1] Sophus Müller *Nordische Altertumskunde*, 1, 285.

to impart all the information in his power. He was acquainted with sundry rather clumsy achievements in gem cutting by the modern natives of Siam, and his view before the production of some photographs of Germanic work was that this would be of the same rough-and-ready kind. After a glance at some reproductions of these objects in colour he said that the red inlays must be of coloured glass, fused enamel fashion into the cloisons or cut to shape and inserted cold. It was fortunate that a piece of the red inlay that had fallen out of a cloison on a Kentish jewel was available, and this specimen he at once handed over to a technical expert on his staff who was asked to test it and report as to its constitution. The answer came after a short interval that it was not glass but garnet, and it may be noticed here that all over the Teutonic area the red inlays are almost invariably garnet. Otto Tischler, an archaeologist of the last generation whose special bent was towards the investigation of points of technique, tested every piece he gained access to and found it always garnet;[1] the late Josef Hampel was of the same opinion,[2] and so are French archaeologists such as M. Pilloy.[3] The nature of the inlaid substance being thus established, the writer's friend kindly explained that though garnet cut easily yet it was a brittle stone, and when sharp angles and hollows were in process of formation breakages would often occur. He suggested therefore that the stones might have been shaped first of all without any painful effort after exactitude of contour to attain which involved the risk of fractures, while the strips of gold forming the cloisons would be bent

[1] *Mitt. d. Wiener Anthropol. Gesellschaft*, XIX (1889), 162 f.

[2] *Alterthümer in Ungarn*, I, 473.

[3] The popular tests are (1) comparative hardness, which is much greater in garnet than in glass, as can be tested with a fine jeweller's file; (2) temperature, the garnet striking colder when touched by the tongue; and (3) absence in the garnet of any trace of decomposition or iridescence so common in ancient glass, or of surface flaws or scratches which the softer glass shows as the result of abrasion.

round subsequently to fit the actual perimeter of the garnet. It was soon seen that with a surface like that of the Kingston brooch, entirely covered with the shaped cloisons only separated from each other by the dividing strips, such a process was impossible, and the final result of the investigation was a declaration that the gem cutting in question, so far from showing any sign of barbaric rudeness, was fully up to the best technical standard of to-day. The modern workman could of course carry out the work with quite equal precision, but a master gem cutter of to-day would hesitate before he undertook a commission of the kind on account of the number of the brittle stones that would be spoilt in the process. An inquiry elicited the information that a simple piece like the specimen shown, trapezoidal, with one side straight and the others convex or hollow, and less than a quarter of a square inch in area, would take a modern workman the best part of an hour to cut and polish, while those which were shaped step-fashion or with salient angles might occupy half a day. It should be understood that the modern use of diamond dust instead of the older emery greatly accelerates operations. This result represents on the whole rather a triumph for the craftsman of old, who would have no occasion to fear the competition of his modern successor even when armed with all the appliances of science and machinery.

In connection with this technical point it may be of interest to show here the shapes of some cut garnets that exhibit far greater elaboration and sharper angles than any-



FIG. 19.—Shapes of Garnets in Treasure of Petrossa.

thing in the Kingston brooch or in Anglo-Saxon jewellery in general. The stones in Fig. 19 are from the Petrossa treasure presently to be noticed, and the forms are copied from the work of Professor Odobescu, *Le Trésor de Petrossa.*

Two questions now present themselves, one concerning the general history of inlaid work in Europe at large, and the other concerning the special position of Kentish jewellery in relation to other developments of the craft in different European countries. The provenance of the inlaid gold jewellery as a whole has been the subject of a controversy that may now be considered as practically settled. It has been claimed as Roman, but evidence is overwhelmingly strong that it really belongs in its origin and development to regions outside the classical world. Our own special form of this work, the Kentish jewellery, has been regarded as Frankish rather than of native provenance, but here again there are convincing grounds for ascribing it to the Anglo-Saxon not the Merovingian goldsmith.

These two points must be dealt with in some detail, as the subject matter is one of considerable interest and importance, and the general historical question may suitably be accorded precedence.

Reference was made in the Introductory Chapter (p. 11) to the work by the late Alois Riegl of Vienna, entitled *Late Roman Artistic Industry*, in which he attempts to vindicate for the later classical civilization the credit of creating the new decorative forms and fashions which appear at the epoch of the Teutonic migrations. The author's life was unfortunately cut short before the second volume was completed, so the work remains as yet a torso, and the evidence Riegl was prepared to bring forward in support of his thesis has been very imperfectly presented. This thesis involved the two rather paradoxical theories that both inlaid gold work and enamelling were arts developed naturally in the late classical world to answer to certain new artistic tendencies which were making themselves apparent in the Roman imperial period. As a fact all the evidence we possess at present exhibits both enamelling and inlaid work as essentially

ROMAN ENAMELLED BROOCH, ETC.



I



II



III



IV

I and III, somewhat reduced ; II, $\frac{2}{3}$ natural size ;
IV, enlarged to $1\frac{1}{2}$ linear.
I is Continental

non-classical, having their origin outside the classical periphery and at dates prior to the development of classical civilization, touching this periphery at certain times and places, and even practised to a limited extent by the Greeks and Romans, but always remaining barbaric arts until Byzantium from about VI or VII adopted and made her own one of the many processes of enamel. Both enamel and incrustation or inlaying, it may be noticed, remained through the middle ages characteristic artistic processes of the West.

Both these processes were therefore in use on the outskirts of the classical world at the time that the Teutonic tribes made their first incursions into the Roman Empire. Enamelling they learned, and though practising it in a very sporadic and half-hearted fashion they did enough to keep the art alive till it took a new start in the Carolingian period.

There are one or two specimens of Anglo-Saxon enamelling in the pagan period, and Pl. CXLVI, 4, exhibits one in the form of an enamelled central disc to a circular Kentish brooch from Ash in the Ashmolean. Here in a ground of dark green enamel there is a quatrefoil in white enamel in compartments. There is no question that this is genuine vitreous enamel fused in. The most conspicuous example of the technique occurs in the head plates of two 'long' fibulae in the celebrated Szilagy Somlyo find at Budapest presently to be noticed. One of these is shown in the natural colours, Pl. G, II (p. 527). The enamel is green and purple, in the cloisonné technique. The subject of Anglo-Saxon enamel becomes of much greater importance in the later epoch, in connection with the 'Alfred' jewel, and will be treated more at length in a succeeding volume. In contradistinction to enamel, inlaid work appears to have appealed to the Teutons at once with decisive force, and they threw themselves with ardour into its production. The first of the Teutonic peoples to enter the imperial domains achieved in this branch of art the most splendid results that the art ever produced and imparted the tradition of it to all

the other branches of the Germanic race. The people in question were the Goths, and to the time when the Goths hung like a cloud on the north-eastern frontiers of the Empire we may ascribe the earliest essays which soon resulted in masterpieces in the characteristic Teutonic inlaid gold jewellery.

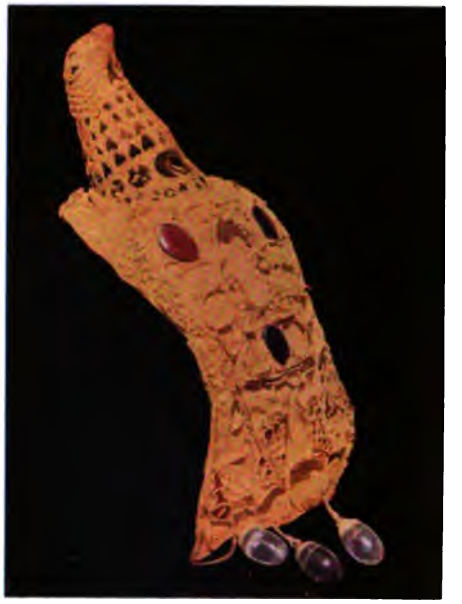
The Goths entered the Roman Empire from the east from seats on the northern coasts of the Euxine Sea whither they had migrated from Baltic lands about II A.D. In the lands above the Black Sea they had every opportunity of becoming acquainted with the technique, and how this came about a sketch of the early history of the craft will show.

This history begins in Egypt, where in the time of the 12th dynasty, about 2000 B.C., occur the earliest datable examples of inlaid gold jewellery. A pectoral ornament in pierced gold work, exquisitely chased at the back and in front enriched with inlays of red cornelian and blue glass pastes, found at Dahshur and now in the Cairo Museum, is shown in colour Pl. F, 1 (p. 521). Nothing of its kind in existence is of finer technical quality. The British Museum has recently acquired a small Egyptian headdress for a statuette in gold set with inlays of lapis lazuli dating about 1000 B.C., and Egyptian examples of inlaying of about this period are numerous and familiar. The influence of such work abroad is seen in some early Greek gold jewellery of the Mycenaean period from Aegina that is inlaid with lapis lazuli in the same fashion, and similar incrustations have left distinct traces in certain objects of carved ivory, probably of Phoenician manufacture, also in the British Museum, that were found in the north-west palace at Nimrud in Assyria, and may date from IX B.C. Of more importance was Egyptian influence on the art of the Persians, who in VI B.C. were for a time masters of the Nile valley. The splendour of the jewels worn by the Persians was proverbial, and ancient writers mention a famous golden vine in the chamber of the Great King, which had its clusters of

EGYPTIAN, PERSIAN, AND GOTHIC INLAYS



I



II



III



IV

I, III, about $\frac{4}{5}$ natural size; IV is 11 in in diameter

All Continental

grapes made of all kinds of precious stones such as emeralds and 'Indian carbuncles,' that is, of the very garnets which were later on to glow in the inlaid jewellery of the Goths and Anglo-Saxons. A very important link in the chain of evidence connecting the later inlaid work with the nearer East came to light in the course of the recent excavations carried on by a French expedition on the site of Susa, one of the Persian capitals, the 'Shushan the palace' of Scripture. Here in 1902 were found objects in gold jewellery set with coloured stones in a tomb that was dated by coins to IV B.C. One of these, a jewel of uncertain use, now in the Louvre, is seen Pl. CXLI, 3. It is work of the Achaemenid period in Persia. In all probability of Persian origin and of about this same date were many of the gold objects found in 1877 on the river Oxus, near Balkh the ancient capital of Bactria. The bulk of these objects, known as the Treasure of the Oxus, is in the British Museum, and they have been published in a book by Mr. O. M. Dalton[1] that is an indispensable modern work on this much-discussed subject of inlaid gold jewellery. Amongst them were two gold armlets terminating in two winged monsters whose bodies and wings are covered with cloisons in which were once set coloured stones. One is in the British Museum, the other in the Victoria and Albert Museum shown Pl. CXLI, 4 (p. 515).

Still keeping to the East, we can trace in Persia and lands where her influence is known to have extended the continuance of this technique into the early centuries of our era. There is a golden relic box in the British Museum set with garnets and green stones found in a Buddhist tope near Jalalabad in Hindustan and dated by coins found with it to about the middle of II A.D., No. 6 on Pl. CXLI. Here the technique is somewhat different, for the inlays are not set in

[1] *The Treasure of the Oxus*, London, 1905. With this should be taken the same writer's paper 'On some points in the History of Inlaid Jewellery' in *Archaeologia*, vol. LVIII.

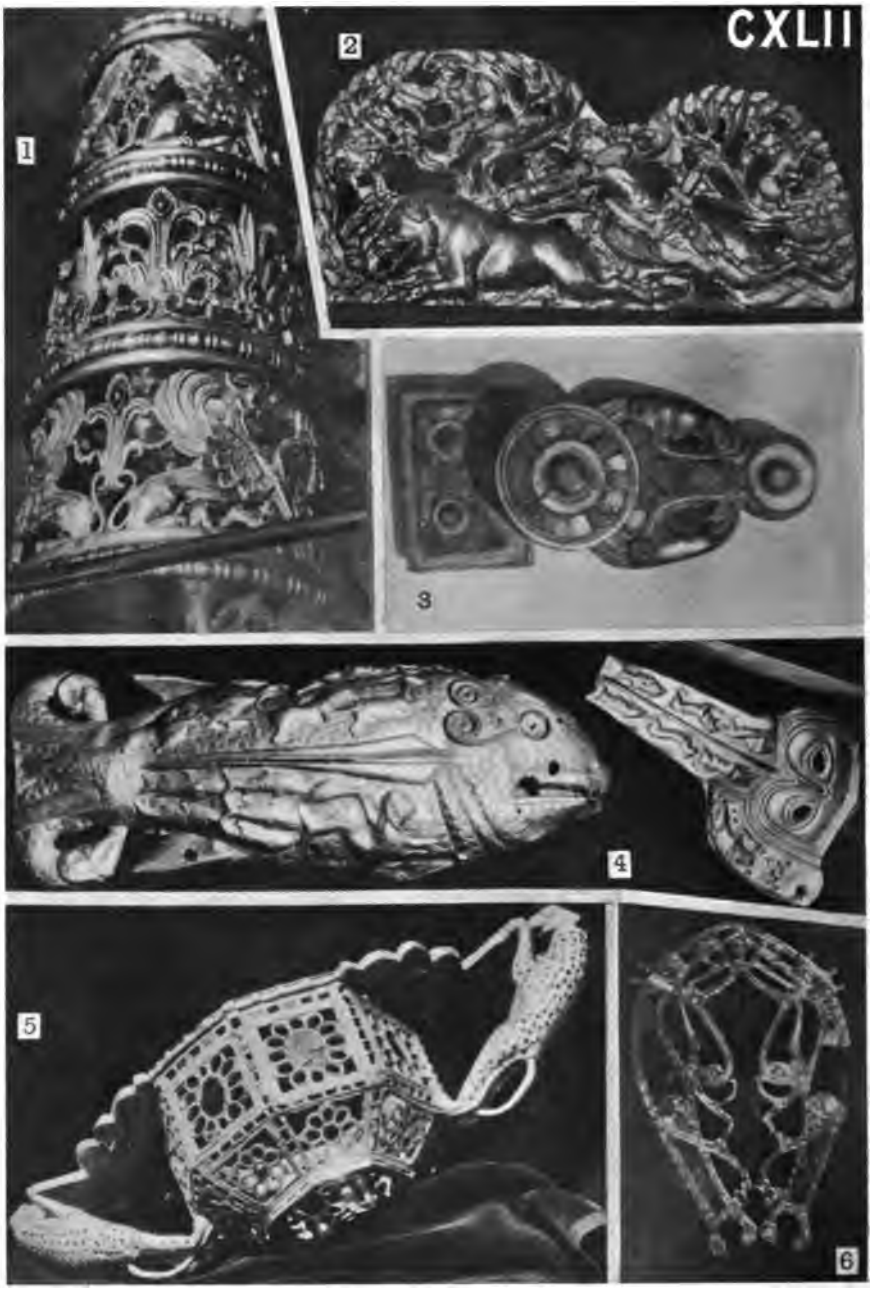
cloisons but in apertures cut in the thickness of the gold plate in which they appear as windows. This same technique is seen in two famous pieces of somewhat later date, both fully attested as of Sasanian, i.e. later Persian, origin. One is a rectangular plaque, perhaps part of the garniture of a girdle, at Wiesbaden, found in a Frankish tomb at Wolfsheim. It is shown on the colour Plate F, III. The plate, which is of substantial thickness, is pierced with round and diamond shaped apertures in each of which is inserted a slip of garnet, the gold being burnished down at the edges to fix the slips in their places, and the effect is something like that of the plate tracery of mediaeval windows. The plaque is a little over 2 in. long and has on the back in old Pahlavi characters the name 'Ardashir,' or as we call it 'Artaxerxes.' There were two Sasanian sovereigns of that name, and the object may date either in the first part of III or the last part of IV A.D. Lastly, No. IV on Pl. F shows a view into the interior of the famous Cup of Chosroes, a later Sasanian sovereign about 600 A.D., in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. This is a very shallow bowl 11 in. in diameter wrought in gold about $\frac{1}{12}$ in. thick save at the edge where it is thicker. In the centre is inserted a plaque of rock crystal $2\frac{7}{8}$ in. in diameter finely engraved with a portrait of the monarch seated on his throne. Round this centre a narrow band is excavated in compartments in each of which is inserted a garnet, and a row of similarly inlaid garnets adorns the outer rim. The field of the bowl in between is pierced through with round apertures the largest of which are of a diameter of $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. These are filled in with plaques of green and red glass which have moulded patterns on them. They are fixed by burnishing. The bowl stands on a massive gold rim $\frac{3}{16}$ in. thick and $\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, and is of course a work of the first order. When it is held up to the window the coloured discs and the engraved crystal centre are seen by transmitted light.

Turning now towards the West we are met at once by a

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SIBERIAN, ETC., INLAID PIECES



All Continental

fact the significance of which has been lately emphasized,[1] the influence of Iranian or Persian culture on southern Russia. This influence is much in evidence in the early centuries of our era through the constant occurrence in Russian finds of objects of Sasanian workmanship largely in the form of shallow silver bowls embossed with figure subjects in relief,[2] but it begins much further back, as Professor Rostowzew has shown, and it is not too hazardous to connect with this oriental inlaid gold work, centering in Achaemenid Persia but penetrating at any rate to Bactria, the extraordinary development of the same technique in the lands between the Caspian and the Euxine and in the regions up to the Ural mountains and Siberia. A large number of objects in the precious metals, for the most part inlaid, have been found over a considerable portion of hither Asia to the north as well as to the south, and also over eastern Europe from the Yenisei in Siberia to Vettersfeld in Prussia. The openness of the whole of this vast region of plains rendered the transmission of culture-influences from end to end of it an easy matter, and Mr. Dalton remarks that 'the Scythic-Siberian style' 'maintained an unmistakable character from the Yenisei to the Carpathians' and may in time 'have extended over a period of at least six or seven centuries.'

Siberian art of this order is represented by some extraordinary objects in massive gold set with turquoises and garnets that in point of style are quite *sui generis*, and are among the choicest treasures of the Hermitage Museum at Petrograd. Their date and exact provenance are alike unknown. Some were found in XVIII. One of the best of

[1] E.g., by Professor M. Rostowzew in a paper on Iranism and Ionianism in South Russia, read at the International Congress of Historical Studies in London in April, 1913.

[2] As recently as June 1912 a great treasure containing Sasanid objects was brought to light at Poltowa, the scene of the famous victory of Peter the Great over the Swedes.

these is an eagle of gold, set with gems, that holds in its talons an antelope of a species characteristic of this region, No. 5 on Pl. CXLI. A piece with more pronounced character still is given in No. 2 on Pl. CXLII. It is very massively wrought in gold pierced with apertures and bedecked with coloured gems in compartments. A man on horseback is seen pursuing a wild boar, and there are trees and animals in the background. Other objects that probably originated to the north of the Black Sea show a mixture of classical motives derived from the flourishing Greek colonies of the region with those of a barbaric character, which for want of a better term may be qualified as 'Scythian.' An excellent example is the remarkable piece of open work in gold, set with gems, in the Kerch room at the Hermitage, shown Pl. CXLII, 1.[1] No. 4 of the plate shows the famous golden fish and a golden holster of Scythian pattern, found at Vettersfeld in the Nieder Lausitz, that are supposed to be Greco-Scythian work of perhaps 500 B.C., brought up from southern Russia at a time and under conditions at which we can only guess.

Into these lands north of the Euxine descended in II the Goths, and an important era in the history of early mediaeval culture and art has at this time and place its beginning. In receptivity to culture the Goths stand easily first among the Teutonic peoples, and in this favoured region, a meeting place of classical and oriental civilizations, they readily imbibed a good deal of what Greece and Rome had to teach, as well as the attractive, because showy and bizarre, elements of Iranian and Scythic decoration. They first of all made their language a written one by the adoption with certain modifications of the letters of the Greek, and to a lesser extent the Latin, Alphabet to form the so-called runic Futhorc,[2] a set of characters

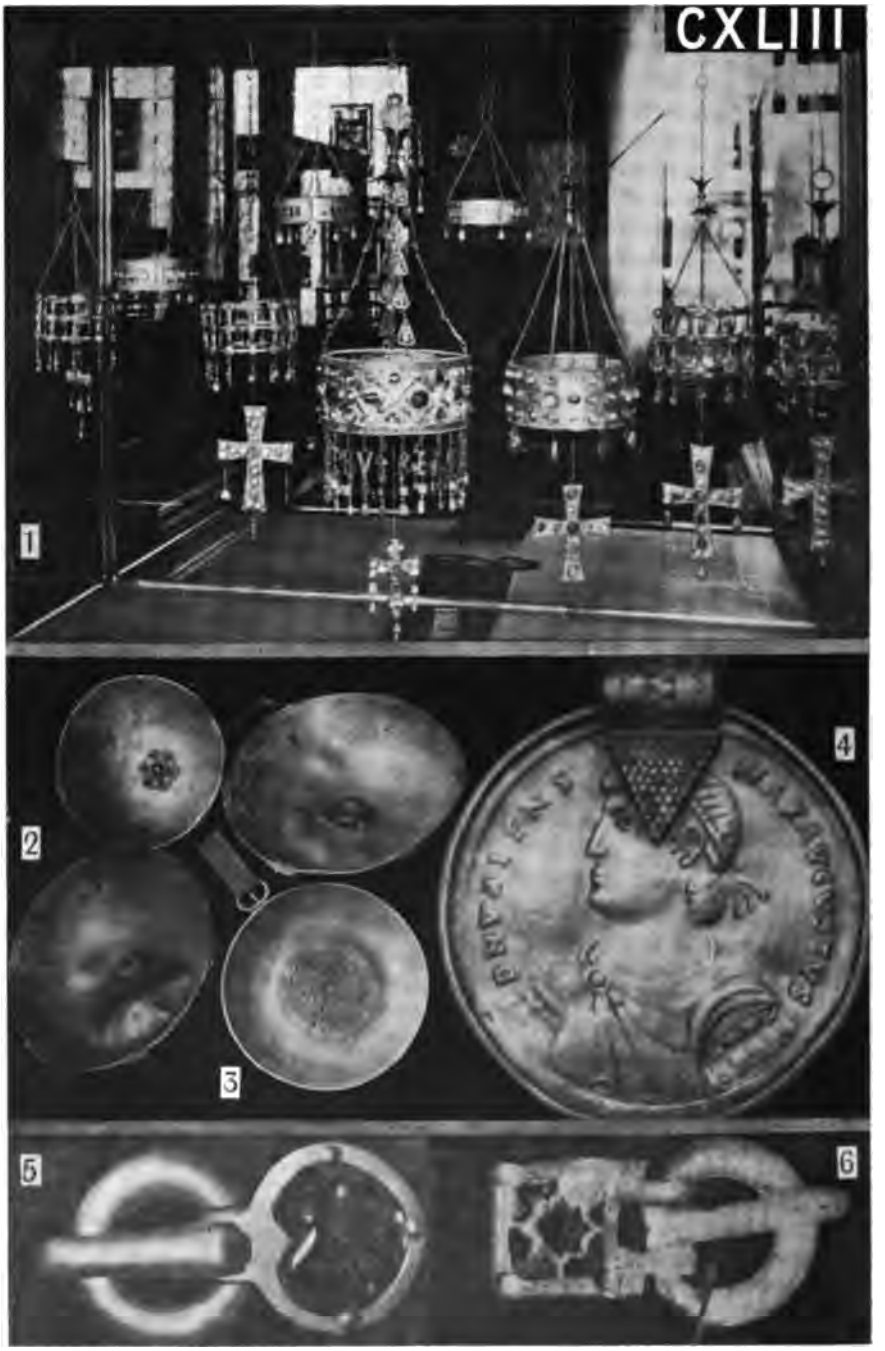
[1] Kondakoff, Tolstoi, and S. Reinach, *Antiquités de la Russie Méridionale*, Paris, 1891, is the most accessible standard work on all this subject, but there is a considerable literature on it in the Russian language.

[2] A word formed from the first six letters of the series F, U, TH, etc., just as Alphabet from the Greek alpha, beta, etc.

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facing p. 525

GOTHIC AND OTHER INLAID PIECES



All Continental

specially adapted for incision in wood that was the first apparatus of writing among the Teutonic peoples. The runic Futhorc of 24 letters was probably invented or evolved among the Goths north of the Euxine about 200 A.D., and was before long transmitted to the north-west to the Baltic lands whence the Goths had come, along the easy and open route by the plains at the back of the Carpathians by which the people had themselves effected their southward migration. At a later period when owing to the pressure of the Huns they had moved westward into Dacia the Goths were converted, and under the influence of the Church, that was closely bound up with the Roman system, their language was made a literary one by the translation into it of the scriptures by Bishop Ulfilas, who created for the purpose a Gothic alphabet closely following the classical but with the admixture of certain runic elements. The existence of this classically formed Gothic alphabet stood in the way of the propagation of the earlier runic system towards the west, and accounts for the curious fact that the art of runic writing reached Britain and Gaul not directly along the Danube and Rhine but round by the way of northern Europe. Dr. Almgren,[1] Bernhard Salin,[2] Haakon Schetelig,[3] and others, with whom Professor Hampel[4] agreed, believe that with the runes the Goths sent to the north-west at the same time a form of fibula that was developed in Scandinavia to the characteristic form of the 'long' or 'cruciform' brooch transmitted in V to our own country. The prehistory of the Teutonic fibula is, it must be acknowledged, rather obscure, but there is no doubt about the runes.[5]

[1] *Studien über nordeurop. Fibelformen*, Stockholm, 1897.

[2] *Thierornamentik*, pp. 69, 136, 355.

[3] *Cruciform Brooches of Norway*, p. 8.

[4] *Alterthümer in Ungarn*, I. p. 773 note.

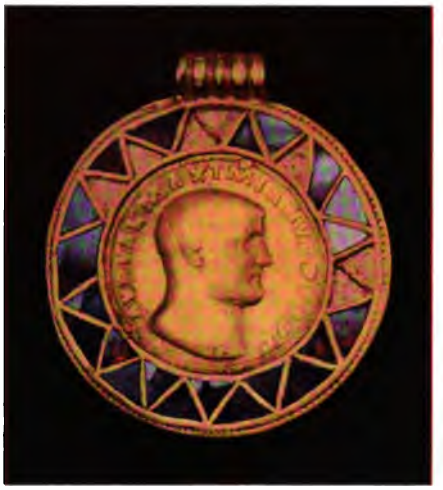
[5] See the article on runes by Professor von Friesen in the new *Reallexicon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1911, etc. The demonstration that the Greek and not the Latin alphabet was the foundation of the Futhorc is the corner-stone of the present theory of the origin and early history of runic writing.

In matters aesthetic the Goths, whose artistic sensibility seems to have been keen, were not able to assimilate classical art proper, for this would have involved a treatment of the human figure in which they had received no schooling, but they were appealed to by the effective contrasts of gold and crimson in the inlaid work, and by some of the motives used in the mixed style of the Euxine lands. One of these motives is the griffin, a creature whose habitat is the Scytho-Greek zone of culture inland from the north coast of that sea. It appears on the piece reproduced Pl. CXLII, 1. The griffin is prominent in a certain class of works in Hungary that are known as the Keszthely group, and occurs in Teutonic work in other regions, as upon Anglo-Saxon sceattas (p. 91) and other objects. Another motive that is distinctly Gothic, but was adopted by many other peoples, is the eagle, and the provenance of this motive might be a subject of discussion. Dr. Götze,[1] while vindicating it for the Gothic regions of southern Russia, does not offer any explanation of it. Lindenschmit's view was that the creature with hooked beak was a falcon, and betokened the love of the Teutonic chieftain for this companion of the chase.[2] It is open to any one to argue that the eagle was borrowed by the Goths from Roman art, or was adopted as a motive from the barbaric work of the region, exemplified by No. 5 on Pl. CXLI. Falconry had hardly developed far enough in the early migration period to have been its origin, but there are figures on the early Anglo-Saxon sceattas (p. 92) that hold on their wrists birds with hooked beaks which look more like hunters' falcons than like the eagle of St. John or the holy Dove, while Professor Montelius believes that the denizens of the richly furnished

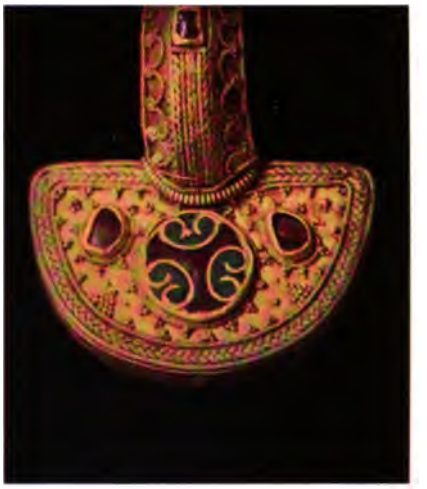
[1] *Gotische Schnallen*, Berlin, n.d.

[2] Wir können deshalb keinem Zweifel Raum geben, dass wir in den zahlreichen Darstellungen eines Krummschnäbligen Vogels unter den Zierstücken des 5 bis 8 Jahrhunderts nur ein Zeugniss der altheimischen Vorliebe für die Falkenjagd zu erkennen haben, u.s.w., *Handbuch*, p. 455.

EARLY GOTHIC INLAID WORK



I



II



III



IV

All approximately natural size
All Continental

graves of VII at Vendel in Sweden practised falconry, for in one of these graves the skeleton of a hawk was found.[1]

There is no reasonable doubt that inlaid jewellery, griffins, and eagles were artistic specialities of the Goths, and were by them transmitted to the other Teutonic peoples. This transmission was favoured by the westerly movements of the Gothic peoples. With the settlement of a portion of the Goths in the former Roman province of Dacia there comes at once an important development of their art. In what is now Roumania and Hungary where the Visigoths resided from about 270 to 376 A.D., three finds of golden treasures of surpassing interest, with others of less bulk but equal intrinsic quality, have come to light in circumstances that make it almost certain that they belong to these Visigoths, and must probably date before they were driven south over the Danube by the irresistible pressure of the Huns. The reference is to the Roumanian find known as the Treasure of Petrossa in the University Museum at Bucharest, and the two finds at Szilagy Somlyo near Grosswardein in Hungary, of which the first is at Vienna the second at Budapest. These come under the category familiar in our own country of 'treasure trove,' for they were deposits hidden in the ground by owners who doubtless hoped to recover them when the enemies they feared were no longer in the neighbourhood. That the owners were Goths and the enemies the Huns before whom the Visigoths fled in 376 is a conjecture which lies very near, and there are indications of date which would support such a hypothesis.

The Petrossa Treasure was when perfect of such magnificence that the suggestion that it was the royal treasure of Athanarich the Gothic King who retired before the Huns is not unnatural. More than a dozen pieces of considerable size and weight in massive gold or gold encrusted with semi-precious stones survive from the treasure, though in a sadly

[1] *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens*, p. 244.

mutilated condition, and consist in golden dishes and ewers, fibulae and other objects of personal adornment, such as the pectoral ornament shown in colour Pl. F, 11 (p. 521), and some wonderful baskets of openwork in gold, the spaces being filled in with coloured stones or pastes, No. 5 on Pl. CXLII, see also Pl. XLVIII, 1, 2 (p. 273). It will be noted that the baskets are in the same technique as the Cup of Chosroes (p. 522) with the coloured inlays used as window panes, while the pectoral which is in the form of an eagle is set with stones in raised cloisons over the body, and on the neck heart-shaped garnets are sunk into the plate as on the piece at Wiesbaden, No. III on Pl. F (p. 521). There is the same treatment on the bodies of the leopards which form the handles of the golden basket. The stones have mostly disappeared but the settings or sinkings for them remain, and these show that the garnets were cut into acute angles and re-entrant curves the execution of which demanded the nicest skill and exactitude; see the forms in Fig. 19 (p. 517). The motives exhibit a blend of the classical and the barbaric which corresponds exactly with what would be expected at the time and place, and from a people situated as were the Visigoths.

One of the other two finds carries with it still more distinct indication of date, for it consists largely in medallions in gold of an imposing size bearing inscribed portraits of Roman Emperors of the end of III and the first three quarters of IV A.D., from Maximian who died in 304 to Gratian who assumed the purple in 367. These are undoubtedly gifts presented by the emperors to their Germanic neighbours across the Danube, and it is equally certain that they were mounted for suspension by barbarian goldsmiths. This is proved by the fact that in mounting the pieces the barbarian goldsmith has in some cases mutilated the head of the Emperor, in other cases the inscription, in a manner quite impossible in a Roman craftsman. The most conspicuous instance is the medallion with the head of Valens shown

CXLIV

facing p. 529

SZILAGY SOMLYO SECOND FIND



Slightly under ¼ natural size

All Continental

Pl. CXLIII, 4, where the triangular plaque below the attachment for suspension covers a good part of the sacro-sanct effigy. In the case of the medallion of Gratian, 367-383 A.D., part of the inscription at the back of the head is mutilated by the stamped pattern added by the barbarian goldsmith, who has enclosed the medallion in a frame on which are a number of full-faced heads surrounded with a beading and with filigree scrolls between each two. These details have been noticed on a previous page (p. 324). The medallion is figured in colour Pl. G, III (p. 527). The mounting in the case of the medallion of Maximian, No. I on Pl. G, introduces garnet inlays, a fact of great historical significance. We have just seen that the craftsman must have been a Goth, and evidence of his inexperience in the art of 'laying out' a design, quite consistent with fine capacity in technical execution, is seen in the irregular trapezoidal cloison just by the 'N' of Maximianus where spacing was at fault, and the rhomboid in place of two triangles opposite to it. If this medallion were mounted for suspension, as would be natural, soon after it was received, it furnishes us with a specimen of Germanic inlaid work of the beginning of IV, the earliest datable example known of the form of decorative art most characteristic of the race and period. A pendant of gold inlaid with garnets of great beauty and in perfect preservation is shown No. IV, Pl. G (p. 527). It formed a part of this same find, and by the medallions that accompanied it it may be confidently dated not later than the third quarter of the same century. Here the garnets are used partly as flat inlays in triangular cells and partly exhibit convex polished faces projecting 'en cabochon.' This piece again is of the highest historical and aesthetic value.

The above treasure came to light in 1797, and by an extraordinary coincidence a second hoard was discovered a century later in 1889 close to the same spot. It consisted for the most part in very handsome silver-gilt or golden fibulae set with garnets, and there were also some golden bowls adorned

with inlaid mountings about which there is a peculiarity, trifling in itself, that is of no small historical significance. At the back of the bowls there are rings passing through eyes riveted on to the surface by rivets the heads of which can be seen in the interior of the bowls. Through these rings were passed straps or cords by which the vessel could be carried attached to a belt or to a saddle. Now Herodotus[1] tells us that in his time the Scythians used to carry drinking cups suspended from their girdles, and it is a characteristic of the nomads of the great Asian plains that to this day they carry with them vessels for use on a journey or at one of the drinking bouts of which the Scythians of old and some of their modern descendants are so fond.[2] A bowl of the same kind but of later date from the find published in Professor Hampel's work noticed below is figured beneath the Szilagy Somlyo bowls, Pl. CXLIII, 3, and illustrates the arrangement. This feature on golden bowls adorned with garnet inlays is a really convincing proof, equally cogent with that derived from the treatment of the imperial medallions, that this inlaid gold work is of non-classical origin, and had once its home in the plains of southern Russia whence the Goths brought it with them to the Danube.

The collection of fibulae in this second find at Szilagy Somlyo is the finest in existence and with the bowls forms the glory of the National Hungarian Museum at Budapest. The Plate CXLIV gives a general view of the collection of fibulae, the forms of which apart from their sumptuousness of enrichment are of much interest. It must be noted that over and above the garnets set flat or en cabochon there are occasionally used as inlays coloured glass pastes and, in the case of one pair of fibulae, enamel. There are also some early forms of animal ornament. It would seem natural to ascribe the hoard found in 1889 to the same epoch as that

[1] IV, X.

[2] Hampel, *Der Goldfund von Nagy-Szent-Miklós*, Budapest, 1886, p. 108 and notes.

discovered a century earlier, on the supposition that the owner of the whole treasure buried it in two places to double the chance of part of it remaining undisturbed.[1] This seems more likely than that two owners at different epochs chose this particular spot as a place of concealment. The medallions, ceasing with Gratian who assumed the purple in 368, coupled with the fact of the migration of the Visigoths across the Danube under pressure from the Huns in 376, certainly appear to indicate a date about 375 for the deposit, but this though it is generally accepted for the medallions seems to some rather too early on a typological scheme for the fibulae of the second find, which Professor Hampel brought into V. The question may in the meantime be left open.

It will not be necessary to follow the art into the domains of all the Teutonic peoples that adopted it. The ancient Dacia corresponding roughly to the modern Roumania and Hungary may be taken as the centre of distribution. The Visigoths carried the art through Italy to the seats of their later rule in southern France and Spain, while the Ostrogoths, whose settled home for half a century was the Italian peninsula, have left there their traces in the form of objects of decorative art that can be distinguished by their style from the later products of Lombard craftsmen. The appearance of the eagle motive is here a touchstone. Dr. Götze brings out the similarity in this feature between buckles found in Italy and those which from their South-Russian provenance are shown to be Gothic. A fine golden fibula in the form of an eagle covered with garnet inlays and measuring $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. was found at Cesena, not far from Theodoric's capital Ravenna, and is now in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg.[2] The Cluny Museum at Paris boasts a somewhat similar piece

[1] This was the view of von Pulszky, *Die Goldfunde von Szilágy-Somlyó, Denkmäler der Völkerwanderung*, Budapest, 1890, pp. 8, 31.

[2] *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Kunst*, 1899, p. 324. *Mittheilungen d. germ. nat. Museums*, 1899, 1900.

in bronze gilt that was found at Valence d'Agen in the Visigothic district of Toulouse, and a counterpart to this is in the Archaeological Museum at Madrid, and was discovered in the once Visigothic district between Saragossa and the capital. The famous Gothic votive crowns, found at Guarrazar near Toledo in Spain in 1858 and preserved at Madrid and in the Musée Cluny at Paris, are notable through the fact that in the case of two of them there are jewelled letters hanging from the bottom edge of the circlets, which spell the names of two Visigothic kings of VII—Svinthila (621-631) and Reccesvinthus (649-672). The group of nine crowns at Paris is shown Pl. CXLIII, 1. The Vandals at one time were closely associated with the Goths and no doubt adopted from them the technique, which is illustrated in some pieces of inlaid work found in Africa and doubtless of Vandal make. Lombard inlaid gold work is well illustrated from the finds at Castel Trosino near Ascoli on the eastern slope of the Apennines now in the Terme Museum at Rome.[1]

From the present point of view the important after-developments of this technique are those located in the valleys of the Danube and the Rhine, along which the art spread westward to the Alamanni, the Burgundians, the Franks and the Jutes of Kent, while it probably ascended from central European regions to Scandinavia. An early piece of the first rank from the standpoint of technique was found at Apahida near Kolozsvar in Hungary, and is now in the Siebenbürgisches Museum there. It is a golden buckle inlaid with garnets the cutting of which is of great exactness, and the construction of the plate behind the massive ring would repay analysis did limitations of space allow. This with several other pieces was found in company with some silver vases enriched with reliefs in a late classical style and also with a cross-bow fibula of Roman type, and the date is thus fixed

[1] Mengarelli, 'La necropoli barbarica di Castel Trosino,' in the *Monumenti Antichi* of the Lincei, vol. XII, 1902.

CXLV

facing p. 533

INLAID KENTISH DISC FIBULAE



1, 3, 4, somewhat reduced ; 2, enlarged ; 5, 6, 7, 8, approximately natural size

to the early part or middle of V. The fashion of this work spread from the Danube valley into that of the Rhine, and a landmark of its progress may be recognized in an inlaid buckle now at Stuttgart which appears like a direct copy of the Apahida piece. This last is figured in colour about the natural size Pl. D, IV (p. 511).

In the last quarter of V we find the work in some examples of the highest technical perfection in the form of buckles, buckle-plates, purse-fastenings, studs, and especially mounts attached to the scabbards of two swords, all found in the grave of the Frankish chieftain Childeric, the father of Clovis, which was accidentally opened at Tournai in Belgium in the year 1653. Childeric, it is known from history, died in the year 481 A.D. so the find is fully authenticated and dated. There are several pieces of inlaid gold work among the scabbard mounts from the grave, and the apportionment of each to its proper use is a difficult problem (p. 218) on which M. Pilloy, *Études*, vol. III, has a good deal to say. We are only concerned here with the character of the work in which exactness of garnet cutting, closely serried setting, and flatness, are remarkable features. Some specimens of the work are figured on the colour Plate H, II (p. 541). The style here is markedly different from that of the earlier inlaid fibulae from Szilagy Somlyo where the distribution of the stones over the gold is somewhat free and open. In the Hungarian pieces the garnets, mounted commonly en cabochon, are of various sizes and shapes, and, as in the case also with objects in the Petrossa Treasure, they are dotted over the ground leaving parts of the gold surface free. In the Frankish work, as in the buckle from Apahida and the eagle fibula from near Ravenna, the stones are more evenly and more closely set and the only gold that appears is on the edges of the cloisons between the pieces. It happens not seldom that when a new phase of art is beginning the earliest efforts are of a free, bold, and somewhat experimental kind,

whereas a little later the work becomes for a time far more precise and stiff, and is less attractive to the eye though it imposes by its correctness and self-control. The difference was marked by Gottfried Semper, who called the former the 'lax' archaic style, the latter the 'severe' archaic style where everything seems to be sacrificed to formal exactitude. In this western part of Europe at any rate, at the end of V and for part of VI, close-set garnet inlays kept rigidly flat are the rule. A small stud or button was found in Childeric's grave set with eight garnets shaped like keystones and arranged round a centre, and fibulae of this same pattern are common in early Frankish graves and occur also in the Rhineland, Burgundy, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy. Archaeologists in northern France recognize these as the earliest forms of the inlaid jewel that came into common use. The Pierpont Morgan collection[1] contains many specimens some of which have the inlays shaped so as to form a cross. The Franks it must be remembered were nominally Christians in VI, but see (p. 117 f.). These close-set brooches also make their appearance in Jutish sepulchres where they are regarded as an early symptom. With us they are so rare and sporadic that they have been looked upon more in the light of importations from Gaul than productions of native industry. They are not however, as was just noticed, an exclusively Frankish speciality, and our craftsmen may have made them in accordance with the general fashion of the time. The four lowest pieces 5 to 8 on Pl. CXLV are examples. No 5, ¾ in. in diameter was found recently at Broadstairs, Kent, where it is preserved. Nos. 6, 7, 8 were found at Bifrons and are in the K.A.S. Museum at Maidstone. In 6 the sliced garnets are mounted in iron, in 7 and 8 the cloisons are in bronze. They are early pieces and the close setting is common to all. No. 7 is 1 in. across.

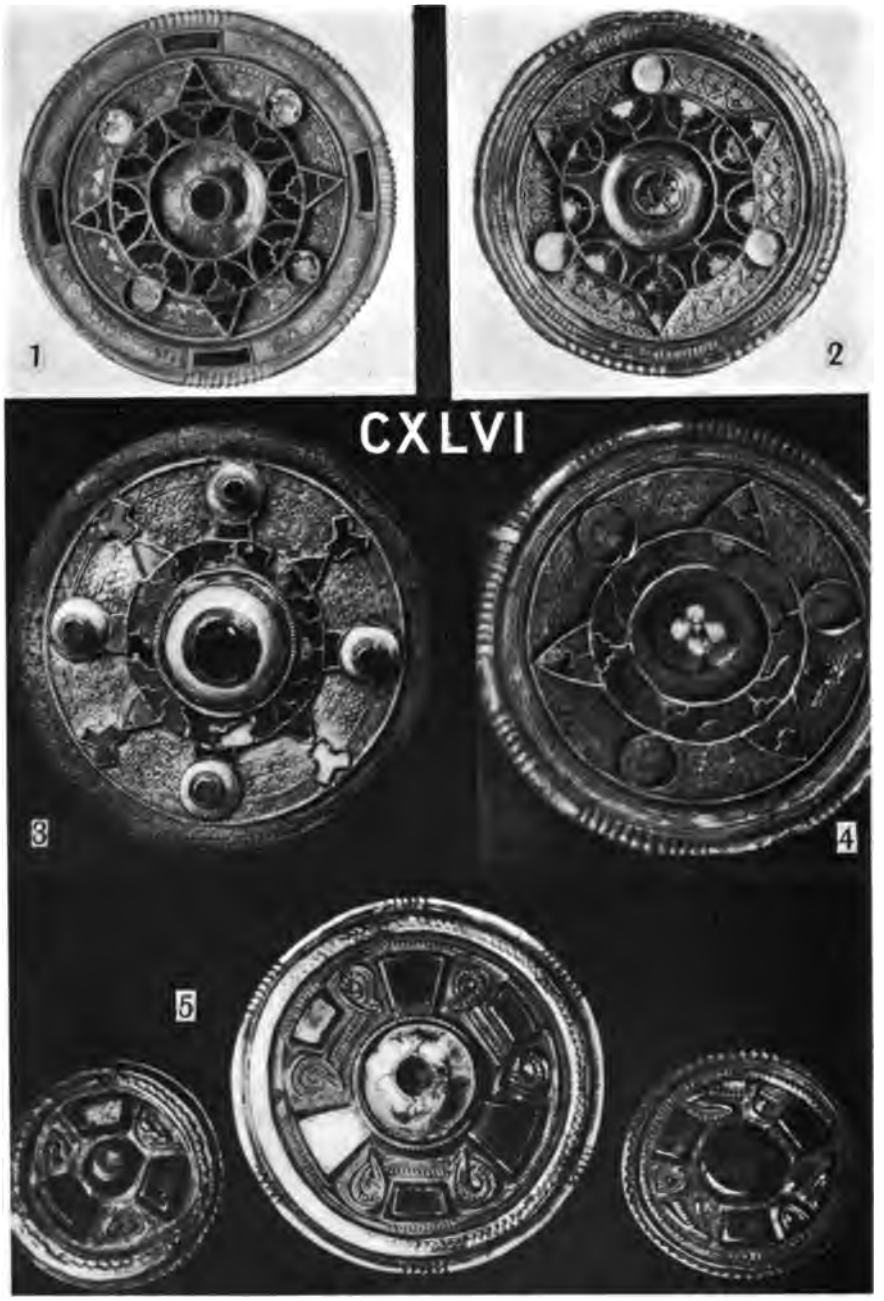
As VI advanced a change came in the work in the

[1] *Catalogue of a Collection of Gallo-Roman, etc., Antiquities*, Pll. II, VIII.

CXLVI

facing p. 535

KENTISH DISC FIBULAE



Somewhat enlarged

direction of greater freedom and variety in the spacing and the choice of the incrustations, and to VII or the very end of VI we have to ascribe the more elaborate examples of the art of which Kentish workmen produced their full share. From the typological point of view, and on the evidence of the animal ornament in the sunk panels, the Kingston fibula is ascribed by Dr. Salin[1] to his 'Style II' the period of which is VII, but the great sobriety of the treatment of the inlays is in favour of a comparatively early date. A good deal of the work is close flat setting, and glass pastes of a colour contrasting with the crimson garnets are sparingly used. Such variety in colour occurs, we must remember, a hundred years earlier in some of the Szilagy Somlyo brooches, so it is not always in itself a sign of advanced date. The piece is probably earlier than the famous Wittislingen round-headed fibula at Munich, Pl. H, 1 (p. 541), which will be presently compared with it, and which must date about the middle of VII.

The four brooches shown Pl. CXLV, 1 to 4, are constructed like the Kingston piece but of less costly materials, and employ as coloured inlays garnets set flat and cut very small into pieces so shaped that their pointed ends interpenetrate along a zigzag central line. The cutting is very careful and delicate as the stones are all wedge shaped. The cloisons in which they are set are of gilded bronze. They have all a front and back plate with a filling of some resinous composition in between, and are about $\frac{3}{8}$ in. thick with a diameter of about 3 in. Two were found at Abingdon in Berkshire but are almost certainly of Kentish workmanship. Of these Pl. CXLV, 1, is in the British Museum, while No. 2, enlarged to show the technique, gives a part of one in the Ashmolean. In No. 1 debased animal forms in filigree fill spaces on each side of four raised buttons of some white substance in the centre of each of which there is a round garnet. A larger

[1] *Thierornamentik*, p. 327 f.

white boss in the centre is surrounded with a band of inlays from the extrados of which four strips of inlay run out to the circumference producing a cruciform pattern. In the Ashmolean example, No. 2, the cross is further emphasized by four panels within the inner band that encircles the central boss. The work is very precise and refined, but the pieces have suffered through time. Another very similar specimen found at Sittingbourne, Kent, is in the Dover Museum, No. 3, and a fourth, No. 4, has passed from the Kennard collection to the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. The jewels may all have issued from the same workshop, but the whole four have been reproduced in order to illustrate the Saxon craftsman's manner of production. Notwithstanding the strong family likeness, they are not reproductions of a single pattern but are tastefully varied, and they illustrate in the aptest fashion the characteristics of work done under the healthy and stimulating mediaeval conditions which were touched on in an earlier volume.[1] The craftsman took too much interest in what he was doing ever to repeat himself in mechanical fashion, and it may be incidentally noticed that this will explain the fact that even when objects are intended to be pairs, as is the case with the fibulae worn on the two shoulders by Teutonic ladies, they very often show this same sort of difference. An example is the pair of cruciform fibulae found at Corbridge and noticed later on (p. 811).

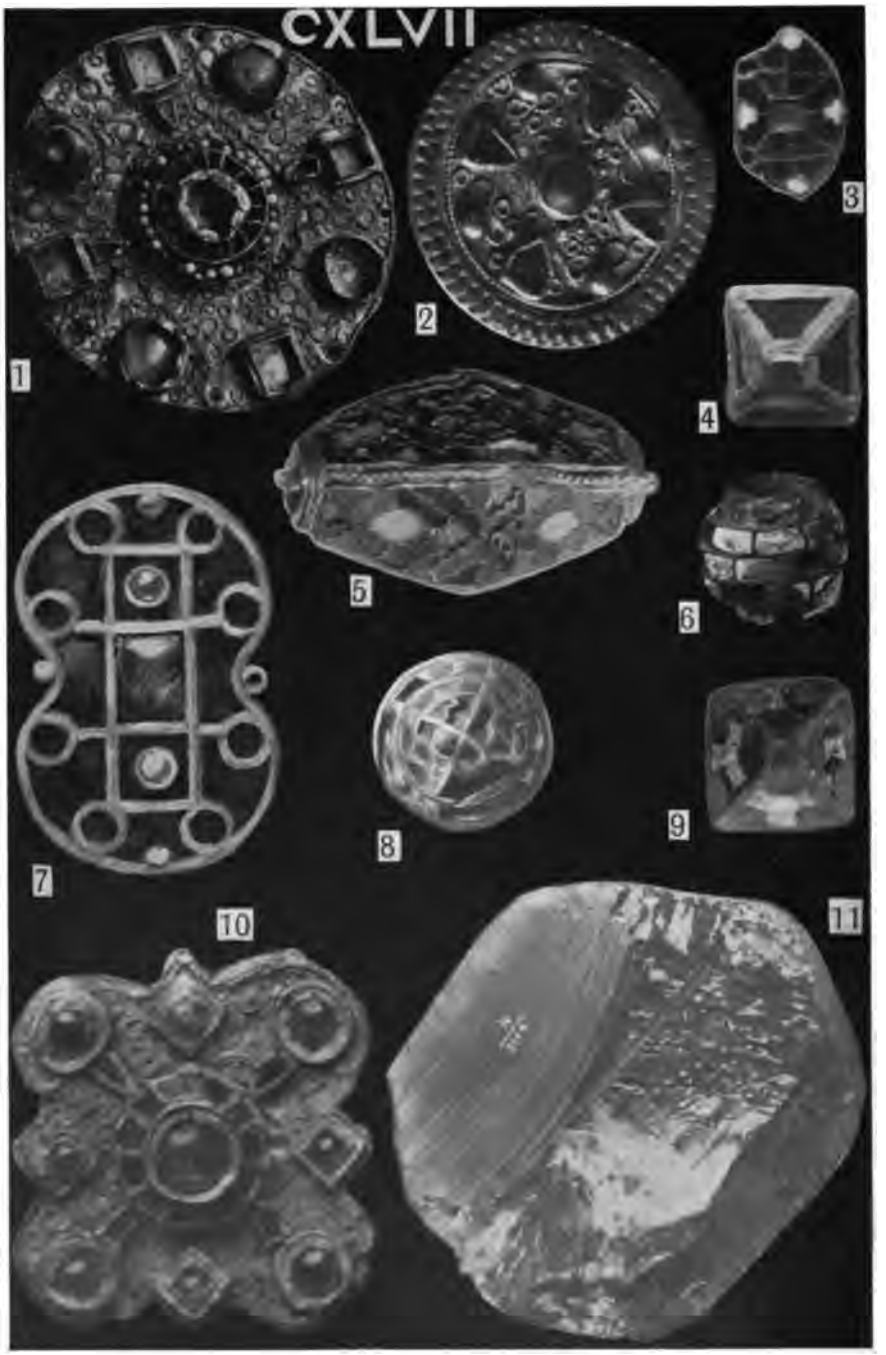
The Kentish disc fibulae shown on Pl. CXLVI differ in construction from the ones already noticed, in that there are not two plates with cement filling between, but a single plate generally of silver to which the pin is attached, and which may be faced in front by a thin applique of gold enriched with filigree work and carrying cloisons for the setting of garnets or pastes, or may be decorated in other fashions. The rim is carefully treated and often ribbed at intervals, plain spaces intervening between the ribbed ones. Zigzag patterns exe-

[1] *The Arts in Early England*, I, 16 f.

CXLVII

facing p. 537

MISCELLANEOUS INLAID PIECES



3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, approximately natural size; 2, 5, ⅓ larger than natural size; 11, rather more than half natural size

2, 10, are Continental

cuted in niello often occur in circular bands towards the rim. Some of the fibulae with this construction are handsome pieces about 2 in. in diameter, and are decorated with tastefully disposed garnet inlays and filigree patterns in between. They are typologically later than the close set type as they distribute the patches of colour more sparingly over the field, and employ filigree scrolls of a rather tame character. Pl. CXLVI shows some examples. Nos. 1 and 2 were in the Kennard collection near Maidstone; No. 3, at Dover, $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. across, was found on the Priory Hill there; No. 4, from Ash, Kent, is in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. Two are arranged in threes the other two in fours. The close resemblance among them will not escape notice.

A fourth class of Kentish disc fibulae introduces us to work of a rather more homely type. The brooches in question vary in diameter from about $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. to 1 in., and are generally silver gilt, never, so far as the writer has observed, gold. Three or four garnets, either cut in the form of a keystone or step-shaped, are disposed round a central boss and divided by panels in which there is sometimes nondescript linear ornament and at other times fragments of unmistakable zoomorphic patterns. These brooches may date from the earlier part of VI onwards. There is the same niello work and the same treatment of the rim as on the fibulae of the last kind mentioned. The three examples from the interesting finds at Stowting, near Hythe, Kent, now preserved in the Rectory there, will illustrate the style, Pl. CXLVI, 5. The diameter of the central piece is $1\frac{5}{8}$ in.

A detail not to be passed over in connection with the brooch from Ash, Kent, Pl. CXLVI, 4, is the fact that the central ornament is worked in enamel (p. 519). The rarity of genuine enamelling in Anglo-Saxon work of this period makes the piece specially notable. On a previous plate, Pl. LII, 10 (p. 293), there was figured another 'unicum' in the form of enrichment in niello on the back of a fibula of the

fourth kind just noticed. The silver plate has a device consisting in an arrangement of step patterns incised on it, and the lines are filled in with a black composition.

The use of garnet inlays for other purposes than the decoration of the disc fibulae has been already illustrated from English examples in the case of the Wilton and other pendants, Pll. CXL, I ; LIII, 8, etc. : the cross of St Cuthbert, Pl. CXL, 3 ; buckle plates, Pll. LXXI to LXXIII, and in the case of fibulae of other types in which an inlay or two is used to give a touch of colour. Inlays on sword hilts are also found, Pll. XXV, 9 ; XXVII, 1, 2. A few more examples are brought together on Pl. CXLVII. No. 5 is one of the handsomest jewels of the kind known. It is the head of a pin, probably for the hair, nearly 1½ in. long, inlaid with garnets in gold, the cloisons being markedly of step pattern. It was found at Forest Gate, Essex, and is now in the Ashmolean Museum. No. 3 is also an Essex piece, and is a jewelled applique of uncertain use.

Nos. 4, 8 and 9 represent a small class of jewelled objects the purpose of which is not quite clear. 4 and 9 are small pyramids, the first of gold the other of bronze, set with garnets and pastes. They are hollow and a bar goes across at the back by means of which they could be tied to a cord or fastened like a button on to some surface. No. 9 is ⅝ in. square at the base. It was found on Salisbury race course with a fellow piece, and the pair are in the Museum at Devizes. No. 4 was found with No. 3 at Broomfield, Essex, and they are both in the British Museum. No. 8 on Pl. CXLVII is a button of the same construction but of a round form, ¾ in. in diameter, hollow, but with a plate at the back with marks on it of attachment. It may possibly have served originally as the central boss of a Kentish disc brooch such as the Kingston fibula, and it came to the Rugby Art Museum with the Bloxam collection. Found at Princethorpe it is of local provenance, and is inlaid with garnets. No. 6 was recognized by Faussett, who found it in grave 76 at Kingston, Kent, as a dagger

pommel. It is about 1 in. in diameter and is of silver inlaid not with garnets or pastes, but with the white substance presently to be noticed in connection with Kentish jewellery in general. On the colour Plate D (p. 511) Nos. I and III represent, the one the back, the other the face of an interesting piece from the Mayer collection at Liverpool, in the form of a golden pendant shaped as an eagle of the Gothic type, inlaid with garnets and glass pastes, one of the former being set en cabochon in a disc of the white substance presently to be noticed (p. 544 f.). The edge is finished with a gold beading, and the back it will be seen is of gold. For clearness the object is reproduced very considerably enlarged, No. III being more than twice the natural size.

Several plates might be filled with examples of inlaid jewellery of the Kentish type found in different parts of England outside the borders of the county. One or two examples may receive mention here to supplement the small list just given. In Norfolk a companion piece to the Wilton pendant was found accidentally by a woman walking along the sea beach between Bacton and Mundesley. This Bacton pendant, as it is called, encloses an imitated gold coin of the Emperor Mauricius, 582-602, in a frame where the cloisons for the inlaid garnets take forms like those of leaves so that the effect is that of a wreath. Like the Wilton piece it is in the British Museum. Another mounted coin in the same collection comes from Staffordshire, where it was found at Forsbrooke near Blythe Bridge Station, in a part of the county near where the barrow finds of VII jewel work have come to light. The coin here was a cast from an earlier piece of Valentinian II, 375-392, but the jewel was evidently of the same comparatively late date as the similar pieces that have been noticed. Garnets and blue glass pastes were set in the framing, and the barrel-shaped loop was also inlaid. The back of the coin is hidden by a plain gold plate. The Sheffield Museum contains a circular gold brooch with filigree work

round inlaid red stones, from White Low, Winster, Derbyshire, Pl. CLVI, 7 (p. 623). In Leicestershire, on the borders of Northants, between Husband's Bosworth and Welford, appeared a jewel, sometimes called 'the Naseby Brooch,' that is figured by Akerman on Pl. XXXII of *Pagan Saxondom*. It is of the quoit brooch form faced with a plate of gold adorned with filigree work and with four garnets set in the white bosses previously discussed (p. 514). The diameter is $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. Several finds of jewelled objects of the kind from burials on the Yorkshire Wolds are noticed later on (p. 804 f.) and the late character of such objects and their resemblance to Kentish work are there pointed out. Further south in Buckinghamshire there was found at High Wycombe a small gold filigree pendant, apparently of VII, pronounced in the *Victoria History*, Bucks, I, 195, to be 'almost identical with Kentish specimens.' The Twickenham inlaid pendant is figured Pl. LIII, 8 (p. 305).

We come now to the second point noticed (p. 518), the special position of Kentish jewellery in relation to the developments of the craft in continental lands. A word was said in the Introductory Chapter (p. 4 f.) about the curious English idiosyncrasy, that may almost be called an anti-patriotic bias, as a result of which any provenance but a native one is assumed for all objects of special merit found in our own country. Is it necessary, we ask, to bring in the Frankish craftsman as a 'deus ex machina' to account for this specially interesting and beautiful insular product the Kentish inlaid jewellery?

The point which needs here to be emphasized is the following. Whether or not the Kentish craftsmen borrowed the first form of their inlaid work, the small close-set garnet brooch, from the Franks or Alamanni of the Rhineland, they certainly developed the art at home on thoroughly insular lines. VII in Merovingian Gaul witnessed a parallel development of inlaid jewellery in the direction of a freer, more varied, treatment of the inlays, but though parallel it by no

FRANKISH AND ALAMANNIC INLAID WORK



I



II

I is ⅔ natural size
Both are Continental

means coincided with our own. No mistake can be greater than to imagine Kentish jewellery in its later and most characteristic forms a copy of Frankish. The relation between the two is similar to that which we have found existing in the sphere of coinage between the trientes and the sceattas. The Franks with their older and more Romanized culture give us the start and furnish us with our first models, but after that our designers and workmen go their own way and produce effective pieces original in design and technique. It happens moreover at times that when Anglo-Saxon work specially resembles similar productions on the Continent the affinities are not to be found by crossing to the south of the Channel but by taking a cast further east. In architecture, it was shown in a previous volume,[1] the Anglo-Saxon style, though perhaps influenced at the outset from Gaul, in its later periods has no affinity with what is found in Normandy but borrows largely from Austrasian Germany. The same is the case here. Frankish forms of the inlaid disc fibula, as we shall presently see, are of a character quite different from our own, whereas there are distinct points of contact with Alamannic work from the middle Rhine, where in VII disc fibulae are much in evidence. The two finest Alamannic jewels, one a long, the other a disc fibula, are in the Museum at Munich. They were found with other objects in a rock-cut tomb near Wittislingen in Bavaria in 1881. The long fibula, Pl. H, 1, wrought of silver gilt, is one of the most elaborate productions of the period and is probably rather later than the Kingston fibula, with which it agrees, not of course in the form, but in the close setting, the flatness, the form of the cloisons and the sparing use of glass pastes of other colours to contrast with the garnets. There were such pastes in the quatrefoils which occur on Pl. H, 1 as the centres of little groups of cloisons, but there is nothing of them left but some green pastes in the uppermost compartment. The compartments in which are

[1] II, 48 and passim.

the groups of cloisons are bordered with zigzags filled in with niello, as on the rims of so many Kentish brooches. The two profile heads on the spreading part of the foot of the fibula below the bow, though without eyes, are otherwise curiously like the heads on a very delicate piece of Kentish gold work in the form of a small buckle of pure gold found at Faversham and now in the British Museum, Pl. B, IV middle at top (p. 353). It is remarkable too that at the back of both of these Alamannic fibulae from Wittislingen the catch for the pin is formed from the head and neck of an animal, just as on the Kingston fibula. The back view of the long fibula shows this catch. The back has been reproduced also on Pl. H, for the reason of the remarkable Latin inscription, figured and discussed in the *Kataloge* of the Bavarian National Museum.[1] It is of pathetic interest and seems to convey a last greeting of a spouse to her husband. 'Thy Tisa most faithful so long as life was mine' apparently greets her consort Uffila—'may he live happy in God.' The husband may have had the piece made in memory of his wife. The wording shows that they were Christians, and as the Alamanni were only converted in the first quarter of VII this is an additional reason for placing the piece about the middle of the century. We do not meet with inscriptions of this kind on our own English pieces and this can be easily explained on the ground that the Anglo-Saxons were not so instructed in Latin as the Teutons of the Continent. Anglo-Saxon tomb furniture dates from before the great advance of learning later in VII in which Northumbria took the lead. The burial in a Christian grave of all this valuable tomb furniture is a fact the significance of which must not be lost sight of.

The later Frankish inlaid work possesses the following characteristics. Blue and green pastes become very common side by side with the garnets or even supersede them, and the

[1] Bd. IV, München, Rieger, 1892, p. 250 and Taf. XXI, on which is also figured the zoomorphic pin catch of the disc fibula.

pastes or stones are mounted in raised settings and distributed over the face of the jewel so as to leave ample intermediate spaces which are filled in with loosely assorted filigree work. The arrangement of the stones is commonly in fours, the arrangement in threes being only occasionally met with. The brooch as a whole is generally circular, but a square shape with rounded corners is not infrequent. No. 10 on Pl. CXLVII gives an example that is strictly speaking Burgundian for it was found at Charnay, but the type occurs also in Frankish sepulchres.

The Kentish disc fibulae of the later kind possess quite different characteristics and are certainly not influenced by the Frankish productions. As a rule the two classes can be separated with ease and assurance, and this in spite of the fact that stray examples out of their own province are found sometimes on each side of the Channel. The Mayer-Faussett collection at Liverpool contains a brooch, Pl. CXLVII, 1, which is entirely of the Frankish character,[1] and would be recognized at once as exceptional if placed with a number of our normal Kentish pieces. These are flatter in their treatment and keep mainly to the garnet inlays while the arrangement in threes is quite as common as that in fours. A collection of 22 disc fibulae from Faversham is in a special case in the British Museum among the large assortment of objects in the Gibbs bequest, and of these no fewer than 19 are arranged in threes, but this proportion is larger than generally obtains. No form is known but the circular. The exceptional jewel figured Pl. CXLVII, 7, is not a fibula, for the back which is of gold shows no signs of attachment, and the form of it is so unlike what we meet with in our own country that it is regarded as an importation from France, though it was actually found in Kent. It is in the British Museum. The formation of cloisons in a sort of step pattern is specially common in

[1] This was not one of the Faussett pieces, but passed to Mr. Mayer from the Rolfe collection, and the provenance is uncertain.

England, but this also occurs in other Teutonic regions as in the Rhineland, Pl. H, 1 (p. 541), and Scandinavia, Pl. XXVII, 1 (p. 221). It is certainly rarer in France than elsewhere, and M. Pilloy regards it as a point of difference between Frankish inlaid work and Anglo-Saxon. The most striking point of difference however is to be found in the almost universal employment in the insular examples of a special substance that is hardly ever used by the Merovingian artist, or at any rate in the way common among ourselves. Almost every example of the Kentish inlaid disc fibula in our museums will be found to contain rounded buttons of a white material in the centre of the top of which is set, generally en cabochon, a garnet. On the question of the nature of this material nothing very satisfactory can be said. The substance has suffered in its composition so much degradation through time that even the resources of the scientific chemistry of the day, as Professor Church kindly informed the writer, are inadequate to solve the problem. This being the case the conjectures of the amateur are at any rate pardonable. It is the opinion of the writer that various substances were employed but were used as substitutes for ivory, a beautiful but rare outland material that could not always be come by.[1] A disc brooch found at Maidstone and in the Museum there has a button in the centre about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter much decayed, and the texture of this resembles ivory more than any other substance that could be named, but at the same time other examples are clearly not ivory. The test of dilute hydrochloric acid which the writer has applied in many instances has always shown that the substance is a carbonate—old ivory reacts to the acid though not fresh ivory—and shell which we know (p. 432) was used in migration-period jewellery, bone, meerschaum, minerals such as orthoclase or felspar, have all been suggested. A substance of the kind was used sometimes by

[1] Walrus ivory might of course be more accessible than the oriental product.

itself as an inlay in Frankish brooches, and flat pieces of the material with garnets let into their centres appear on an inlaid plaque in the Musée Cluny at Paris,[1] and a few other pieces. On the other hand the Musée Cinquantenaire at Brussels contains about fifty disc fibulae with inlays from Frankish cemeteries, and there is no example among them of the white substance used as a mount for garnets, though one or two show flat white inlays, while almost all the English examples used, or at any rate examined, for this book show this speciality, the exceptions being nearly always the small fibulae of the fourth class, such as the two side ones in Pl. CXLVI, 5. Some of these however contain the substance, the use of which can in this way be followed back to the first half of VI.

We may consider it therefore established that Kentish inlaid jewellery represents a tradition not brought from the north but received here on its arrival in the west along the frequented routes of intercourse between east and west by the valleys of the Danube and the Rhine. The technique came to western Europe in the rather severe form of the close-set inlays of flat garnets covering uniformly the field to be adorned, as we find it on the sword hilts of Childeric or in the small close-set brooches found in France, on the Rhine, and in our own country. This fact seems well attested, but we must always bear in mind that in eastern Europe, long before the time of Childeric, the technique had already developed greater freedom, so that in the Szilagy Somlyo fibulae Pl. CXLIV, or the Treasure of Petrossa, rounded stones are freely distributed on an open scheme and the garnets are varied with coloured pastes and enamel. It is specially important in view of this to notice that in western Europe this free treatment does not appear till much later, and the earliest pieces are all of the simple close-set kind. Apart from these, most of the examples of the characteristic Kentish inlaid work that appear in our museums and private collec-

[1] Part of the de Saulcy donation, 1860. It is numbered 8018.

tions can be shown to be comparatively late. In cases like that of the Wilton pendant or the cross of St. Cuthbert Pl. CXL (p. 509) there is external evidence of this, while in other instances, such as those of the Kingston and Abingdon disc fibulae, the internal evidence of the debased animal ornament is equally conclusive.

If so much of this work be demonstrably late while yet the small flat brooches appear quite early, the question arises What is the history of the technique between these epochs, that is between about 500 and 600 A.D.? This is not easy to determine. The development of the ornamented disc brooch from the simple form in which we find it on the lower part of Pl. CXLV to the more ornate forms like Nos. 1 to 4 cannot be followed in a series of accurately 'placed' examples. All we can do is to deal with certain classes which can be arranged in something like chronological order. The small size and unpretentious character of the brooches resembling those from Stowting Pl. CXLVI, 5, suggest that they should be placed earlier than the large and showy specimens on the same plate which probably all belong to the first half of VII. Examples of the former have been found accompanying spoons set with simple garnet inlays and other objects indicating a date in the first half of VI, but on the other hand in many examples of this same form of brooch debased zoomorphic ornament makes its appearance in the intervals between the keystone or hammerhead garnets, and this would bring the pieces at any rate down to the latter part of VI, after which the prevailing fashion is represented by the ornate brooches of the first half of VII. It follows that the use of the inlaid brooches of class 4 like Pl. CXLVI, 5, may cover roughly speaking the sixth century.

With respect to examples of garnet inlaid work found on objects other than the disc fibulae an early example is to be found in a silver spoon discovered by Douglas in one of the earliest graves opened by him on Chatham Lines, the objects

in which he figures on his pl. II. They are in the Ashmolean Museum, and Mr. Thurlow Leeds has published photographs of them on a plate opposite his p. 107. The objects, which include round headed radiating fibulae, are all early and the date of them may be still in V. The silver spoon is set with garnets along its stem and at the junction with the bowl. This same sort of incrustation with flat garnet slips of rectangular and other simple shapes, that we find on this early spoon, occurs on the five knobs of a crisply wrought radiating fibula with early linear ornament from Bifrons Pl. XXXV, 4, (p. 245) of V character, and also on the Kentish square headed brooches in their various stages of development. We find such inlays on the small early brooches of the kind, like the one shown Pl. XXXIV, 2 (p. 245), a piece that was found at Bifrons, grave 42, in company with the two small close-set disc fibulae Pl. CXLV, 6, 7, and like them may be dated about 500 A.D. Inlays of the same sort however are also found on fibulae that are shown by their zoomorphic ornament to belong to quite the latter part of the same century, and as an instance may be quoted the square headed fibula Pl. CLV. 5 (p. 563), notable because it is the counterpart of a piece found in the Frankish cemetery of Herpes in western France. The two are shown together on the Plate, Nos. 5, 6. In the case of pendants and other jewels, such as the pin-head Pl. CXLVII, 5, or the inlaid studs, Pl. CXLVII, 4, 8, 9, a VII date is indicated, and this applies also to the two beautiful little jewels of this kind found in conjunction with coins mounted as pendants in the King's Field, Faversham, Kent, shown Pl. B, III (p. 353). It will be noticed that in the disc fibulae of the type of the Kingston brooch and the Wilton pendant Pl. CXL, 2, the outline of the cloisons exhibits the step-pattern already noted in sceat coins and on the central ornament of the Devizes pin suite Pl. LXXXI, 4. Since the objects last mentioned can be proved to be of VII date, this fact makes it pretty safe to locate in the same century pieces like the pin-head and the

two pendant jewels just mentioned, where the step-pattern is much in evidence. It is quite natural that in garnet cutting the outlines of the slips should become more complicated as time went on, though at the same time in eastern Europe, as in the Petrossa Treasure, or a wonderful inlaid bracelet at Budapest from Pusta Bakod in Hungary, tours de force in gem cutting are conspicuous at quite an early date. These chronological indications apply of course to the fairly numerous specimens of inlaid jewels found not in Kent but in other parts of the country. There is in some cases external evidence of a comparatively advanced date, and in others the criteria just adduced apply, so that all the objects of the kind enumerated a few pages back (p. 538 f.) may be safely set down as subsequent to 600 A.D.

Reference has been already made (p. 37) to the very plausible theory that in many cases these inlaid jewels found in parts of the country outside Kent are really Kentish not only in their inspiration but also in their actual origin. It is a widely held opinion, for which some further grounds will be found as we proceed (p. 598), that Kentish influence diffused at the close of VI owing to the political power of Æthelberht of Kent is the cause of the adoption by the non-Jutish peoples of this attractive method of enrichment.

ROMANIZING OBJECTS IN BRONZE

The urns and the inlaid jewellery are as we have seen productions that illustrate the connections which we know must have existed between our own antiquities and those of north-western Europe in general. The objects of the particular class now to be considered derive also their main interest from the illustrations they offer of these same associations. If the pottery exhibit some of the ethnic affinities of our own Teutonic population with their kinsfolk across the North Sea, and the inlaid jewellery link the extreme south-

west of Teutonized Europe with the great cultural movements in the furthest European east where Germanic barbarism was in touch with the civilization of Greece and the nearer Orient, the particular connection now to be studied is that existing between the Germanic peoples on both sides of the North Sea and certain aspects of the art and culture of the Romans.

The archaeologists of northern France are fortunate in disposing of a considerable body of evidence bearing on the relations of early Teutonic art with that of Rome, for they possess cemeteries, such as Vermand and Abbeville–Hombliéres in the neighbourhood of St. Quentin, the date of which can be historically fixed at before the year 400, wherein are represented objects of earlier type than Germanic tomb furniture in general, that seem to be derived from a source partly Roman and partly barbaric. These objects are transitional, and exhibit Roman motives Teutonized and Roman forms and technical processes copied and used with a distinct infusion of German artistic feeling and craftsmanship. The difference between this semi-classical work and that of Merovingian times, say VI and VII, is so marked that some of the French antiquaries, such as M. Pilloy and M. Boulanger, have adopted for it a distinctive, but rather misleading term, calling it 'Gallo-Roman.' As Bernhard Salin pointed out some time ago,[1] if there were anything Gallic about them the particular objects in question would be found over the whole Gallo-Roman area and not only in the north-west corner of France and in modern Belgium. They occur moreover in Germanic regions along the Rhine and in Hungary, and their habitat is in general the frontier regions between the Empire and Teutonic lands. The objects are to a considerable extent of a military character, and the graves

[1] In his valuable article on 'Some early forms of Germanic Antiquities in England' in *Kon. Vitterbets Hist. och Ant. Akademiens Månadsblad*, Stockholm, 1894.

which furnish them are often those of soldiers in the Roman service. These soldiers were not Romans in the strict sense and were not Gauls, but were in all probability Germanic warriors who had served with the legions and had been established as veterans in holdings of land along the imperial frontiers.[1] M. Pilloy writes himself of the 'Gallo-Romano-Germains qui, au IV^e^ siècle, composaient en majeure partie les légions chargées de la défense de la Gaule, et surtout de ses frontières, légionnaires ou auxiliaires qui après leurs vingt années de service obtenaient leur congé et se fixaient dans notre pays où des concessions de terre leur étaient attribuées en vertue de décrets impériaux, et que le contact avec les populations gallo-romaines avait *romanisés*.[2] One only wonders here why the first word 'Gallo' was 'lugged in.'

The most richly furnished of all these graves, known as the 'Tombeau du Chef Militaire de Vermand,' contains no Celtic elements and is rightly described by M. S. Reinach as that of 'un chef militaire germanique, enseveli dans le territoire de l'Empire,'[3] and M. Boulanger himself, although, in agreement with M. Pilloy, he writes in his large work of 'guerriers gallo-romains,' yet in his smaller treatise of later date on Marchélepot says distinctly that the Vermand warrior 'paraissait être un Franc du service des Romains.' The truth indeed about the genesis of this mixed or transitional art could not be better expressed than in M. Boulanger's own words in the 'Introduction' to his large work, p. xxiv, where he writes 'les Germains qui avaient franchi le Rhin . . . et les légionnaires entrés dans l'armée romaine, apportèrent avec eux le goût de l'art barbare, qui, lentement d'abord, puis,

[1] For some remarks on 'the interpenetration in the personnel and organization of the army of Roman and Germanic elements' see *Arts and Crafts of our Teutonic Forefathers*, Chapter III, 'Roman and Teuton.'

[2] *Études*, II, 225.

[3] In the Préface to the work of M. C. Boulanger, *Le Mobilier Funéraire*, etc., 1902-5, p. xiv.

CXLVIII

facing p. 551



CONTENTS OF A LADY'S TOMB AT VERMAND, FRANCE, C. 400 A.D.

Half natural size
All Continental

rapidement ensuite, s'infiltra dans l'art romain qui dominait en Gaule, sans mélange, à la belle époque des Antonins.'

It was said above that these particular cemeteries, of which that of Vermand is the most important, can be dated to IV. Their early character is forcibly attested by the forms of the glass vessels which they have furnished, and which M. Pilloy has published in a series of plates in the second volume of his *Études*. The glass of the Gallic and Rhenish factories of III and IV is finer and more elegant in its forms than that of V to VII found in Teutonic cemeteries. Vermand yielded up more than 500 vessels of glass, and Abbeville-Homblières furnished a smaller collection, and in no case do we find among them the characteristic shapes of the migration period such as those figured in this volume Pll. CXXI to CXXVIII. Furthermore the cemetery at Abbeville exhibited the remarkable phenomenon already referred to (p. 451) that almost all the persons interred had been supplied with a coin placed in the hand or in the mouth—the so-called 'Charon's obol'—and that these coins seem in each case to have been a specimen of the issue of the reigning Emperor. The series begins with Magnentius (350 A.D.) and ends with Honorius who assumed the purple in 395. The histories of the cemeteries in question cannot be followed further down than the reign of Honorius, and it is a supposition that seems borne out by the facts that an end was put to the use of them by the devastating invasion of Gaul by the Vandals, Suevi, and other Teutonic tribes in the year 406 A.D.

The objects characteristic of the 'mobilier' of these cemeteries make their appearance elsewhere, and wherever they are found they may be dated approximately in accordance with the evidence just adduced. Our chief concern is with those examples that have been found, sporadically but in sufficient numbers, in our own country as well as in northern Europe. The principal classes of objects are buckles, and with these is associated a special form of fibula as well as strap ends and

certain enigmatic but very characteristic fittings of metal. As regards ornamentation, there are two points of special interest, one, the Keil- or Kerbschnitt technique already discussed (p. 294 f.) used mainly in spiral scroll work (p. 317); the other, the use of animal forms of a distinctly naturalistic type. The first of these may be regarded as on the whole of northern provenance, the second as classical. The buckle sometimes takes the form of a rectangular plate with an opening for the strap contrived within its periphery, and this plate with adjuncts appended to it is decorated with the scroll work just noticed. The ring of the buckle at the back on each side of the part where the tongue is hinged is commonly adorned with two animals' heads, and the fibula, in some cases the buckle also, exhibits on the external edges the forms of crouching animals, while recumbent beasts in profile make their appearance in other parts of the enrichment. The metal fittings are finished with a sharp faceting, that is more Roman than Teutonic.

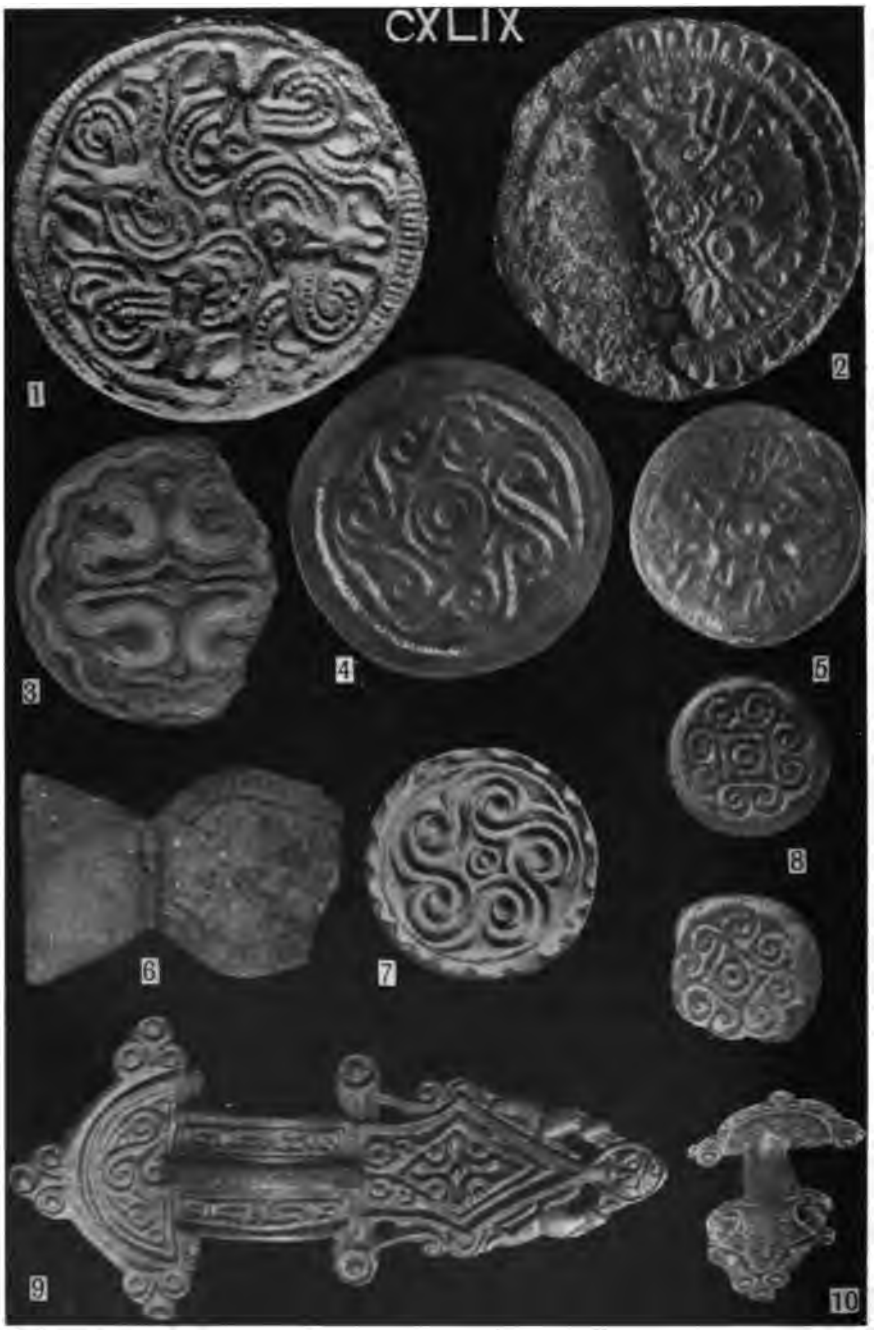
The illustration Pl. CXLVIII will be useful for the present purpose as it represents, on a scale of half the natural size, the tomb furniture from a single grave of a lady of distinction, whose remains were buried near to the famous tomb at Vermand of the 'chef militaire' of whom there has been already question. There are comprised in the 'mobilier' several items that are of considerable value in relation to the after development of what is in the strict sense Teutonic tomb furniture. The date will be about the end of IV. At the top there is a pin, the head of which is supplied with the 'Klapperschmuck' which we have seen (p. 369) to be an inheritance from the Earlier Iron Age. Just below this head is a fibula of a rare and curious type that does not make its appearance in Anglo-Saxon graves, though Dr. Salin notes one from Hanover on page 88 of his *Thierornamentik*. It has the form of a tall slender cone, and there is another and somewhat broader one on the lower part of the Plate to the

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CXLIX

facing p. 553

CONTINENTAL APPLIED BROOCHES



2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, approximately natural size; 1, somewhat enlarged; 5, reduced; 10, a perspective view

1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, are Continental

right of the centre. At the top, in the middle under the point of the pin, is a fragment of a pewter dish with figure subjects on the rim, and just below this to the right is a thin disc of gilded silver embossed with a classical lion's head within a border of chevrons of a rather northern type. In the middle of the lower part of the Plate, within a wire ring joined with the slip-knots we have come to know, is a similar thin embossed disc with chevron border evidently intended like the other to be cemented down upon some ground. Here however there is the additional feature of an upright rim round about it of silver nearly $\frac{1}{8}$ in. high. We cannot fail to be reminded of the 'applied' brooches of our own country, constituent parts of which are embossed discs and upright rims of this very kind. The previous discussion of the type may be referred to (p. 275 f.). Examples of the complete 'applied' brooch have come to light, though rarely, in Frankish cemeteries in this region of northern France and Belgium, and it is quite possible that in these IV pieces we have before us a contribution to the pre-history of the type. Two specimens of these Frankish applied brooches may be illustrated in this connection as they are of value for comparison with our own. One is in the Museum at Rouen and was found at Sigy, Seine Inférieure, Pl. CXLIX, 2. The ornament upon it is strikingly like that on a similar applied brooch found recently at East Shefford, Berks, and now in the Museum at Newbury, Pl. CXLIX, 5. The two have in common a curious trident form that has never been satisfactorily explained. This same cemetery it may be remembered produced a small urn of a pronounced Frankish type, Pl. CXXIX, 5 (p. 491). The other Frankish 'applied' fibula is at Brussels, Pl. CXLIX, 1, and was found at Maroeuil, Pas de Calais.

Returning to Pl. CXLVIII, another very interesting object is seen to the left of the slip-knot ring. It is a fibula with very short but extremely wide foot to which corresponds above a head formed as a wide half-cylinder within which plays the

long spiral coils of the spring. The general resemblance of the piece to the equal armed fibula with wide head and foot noted before in the example found at Kempston, Beds (p. 271), will not escape notice, and it is quite possible that in late provincial-Roman fibulae like the one here illustrated we have the origin of the quite abnormal form of the wide equal-armed brooch, on which something will presently be said. The Roman 'cross bow' fibula to the extreme right of Pl. CXLVIII is of course a familiar type, and is found now and again in the Teutonic cemeteries. Along the bottom line are four bronze appliques, perhaps for the ornamentation of a band or flap, which have the characteristic form known as that of the 'Amazon shield.' It is not Teutonic but is a very old shape used by the Romans and traced back by some archaeologists to Phoenician models. A bronze buckle inlaid with silver of this form was found at Richborough, and is described and figured by Charles Roach Smith as Anglo-Saxon,[1] but it is more probably Roman. The double swallow-tail pieces above the cross-bow fibula are enigmatical. The necklet is of amber beads of curious double forms alternating with flat discs. Lastly there are to be noticed four buckles of early forms that may be compared with the more primitive ones represented at Bifrons, Pl. LXX (p. 347). They possess also their own special features of interest. Of the two to the left of the cross-bow fibula the lower one has its ring set round with small garnets, and the piece is of the highest value as a very early example of the new technique that was later on to prove so important in all this region. The one above has the ring formed of two dolphin-like creatures confronted. On the left hand of the Plate are two buckles in which the ring, on each side of the part where the pin hinges, ends with animals' heads, which have been signalized above as characteristic features in buckles of this Roman or romanizing type. A certain number of Anglo-Saxon buckles figured on these plates possess this same

[1] *Richborough*, etc., pl. v, 3, and p. 88.

THREE BRONZE BUCKLES



All Continental

peculiarity. Pl. v, 12, at Cambridge is a good example, the leaf ornament as was shown (p. 107) pointing to an early date. Another instance is the large buckle from Smithfield on Pl. CLI.

The reader's attention is asked for the three buckles on Pl. CL, which are instructive in regard to the relation between Roman and Germanic art. No. 1, in the Provincial Museum at Bonn, is clearly of classical design and fabrication. The two dolphins forming the ring and the human head are unmistakable evidence that the piece is in the classical sense Roman. No. 2 is as certainly barbaric, for this is proved by the blundered inscription and the swastika on the border of the plate to the right. Two crouching animals decorate the open-work plate and the elaborate ring and tongue exhibit the animals' heads of Roman tradition. The piece, from Crissier, is in the Museum at Lausanne. The form of the bow in this buckle Pl. CL, 2, is worth notice. The straight bar or pivot, the French call it 'brochette,' on which the tongue is hinged is not continuous with the bow as in normal examples but is attached to it by two eyes, the ends of the bow being turned up inwards and ending in fanciful animals' heads. The two English buckle bows, Pl. CLIV, 2, 3,—2, from Burwell Fen, Cambs, in Cambridge Museum, $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. across, and 3, from Mitcham—possess the same arrangement, and have the further feature of interest that though found far apart, one south of the Thames and the other in the Anglian Midlands, they are almost counterparts. Two animals' heads are formed in each case in the middle of the bow flanking the point of the tongue. No. 3 on Pl. CL is in the Museum at Mainz, a magnificent specimen $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. wide, the size of the reproduction, about which it is impossible to say with certainty whether it is Roman or barbaric. The difficulty may be evaded by calling it 'transitional.'

A piece on much the same grade of artistic merit but in its form unmistakably Teutonic is figured on the lower part

of Pl. CXLIX, No. 9. It is a fibula in the Museum at Canterbury, 3½ in. long, of cast bronze gilded, with ornamentation in the 'Keilschnitt' technique, resembling in some respects that on Pl. CL, 3. The provenance of it is not recorded and it may be an import from Scandinavia, for a piece curiously like it, in the Museum at Stockholm may be seen in a perspective view Pl. CXLIX, 10. The Canterbury fibula is at any rate undoubtedly Teutonic work of V and shows the crouching beasts on the edges of the foot in well-modelled natural forms. These beasts have been much discussed. They occur constantly on this class of Roman or romanizing objects found in northern Gaul and along the frontiers of the Empire, and proximately at any rate must be regarded as Roman. Their recognition as Roman is largely due to the Swedish antiquary Dr. Hans Hildebrand, who developed this thesis in articles in the *Tidskrift för Bildande Konst och Konstindustri* for 1876, p. 1, etc., entitled 'Djurtyper i den äldre Nordiska Ornamentiken,' since which time it has practically become an established doctrine needing no further justification. What is remarkable is the avidity with which the motive was taken up in the North. These Roman 'Randthiere,' as the Germans call them, and the reclining beasts in profile used as the adornments of panel-like spaces, were made there the starting point for the development of an elaborate system of animal ornamentation, the different stages of which we have already followed in connection with the fibulae and other such objects. In our own country, as we have seen, this development is worked out in the course of VI, but besides the innumerable examples showing this characteristic German beast ornament in its various stages, we possess specimens which display the motives still in their original Roman form before the Teutonic imagination had set to work upon them, and it is this particular class of objects with which in this place we are concerned.

These objects have for us a double interest, artistic and historical. The classically treated animals are the origin of

CLI

facing p. 557

BRONZE PLATE BUCKLE WITH ADJUNCTS



Natural size

Germanic 'Thierornamentik,' while on the historical side the datable character of the objects themselves make them most valuable documents in connection with the history of our Teutonic settlements. Wherever they come to light there we may assume either an early establishment of a band of the conquerors, or at any rate the passage of such a band on a preliminary foray.

The most striking discoveries of the kind have been made on the Thames, one at London itself, another much higher up the valley at Dorchester near Oxford. The historical significance of the finds will be noticed later on, and here it will be sufficient to illustrate the pieces in question by photographs and descriptions, noting that in every case we are dealing with objects of V date or at any rate character.

Pl. CLI, 1, is a characteristic example of the bronze plate-buckle of the type already referred to (p. 349) and was found in Smithfield, London. The plate is 3¼ in. broad, and it is figured the natural size. The original forms part of the national collection in which it is one of the most interesting exhibits. A small plate-buckle with characteristic romanizing animal ornament was found at Richborough and is figured by Charles Roach Smith in his work on the place.[1] The other photograph, No. 2, is from a piece of uncertain provenance in the Mayer Collection at Liverpool, and is added here to show the triangular adjunct which, repeated at both ends of the plate, is sometimes used to give the whole piece a finish.

The Dorchester discovery (p. 647) was one of curious interest as it brought to light some of the earliest objects of Teutonic character found in any part of this country. The chief of these was a 'long' brooch of very early type that has been already illustrated, Pl. XL, 6 (p. 259). This is a IV form, and is so classed by Haakon Schetelig in his *Cruciform Brooches of Norway*, p. 18 f. Other objects were of the special roman-

[1] *Richborough*, etc., pl. v, 2.

izing class now under discussion. The buckle, Pl. CLII, 10, possesses the two heads on the bow signalized above (p. 552). The smaller specimen No. 11, with its ribbon-like chape shows also two heads on the bow, but they are differently arranged and project as *πρόκροσσοι* on either side of the point of the tongue. In this they resemble almost exactly a small buckle No. 6 on Pl. LXX (p. 347) from Bifrons. The heads are probably those of the horse and are like horses' heads on Roman pieces such as the enamelled brooch shown Pl. E, 1 (p. 519). Heads of the kind appear on early combs of the Roman or romanizing period as well as on much later combs such as Pl. LXXXVII, 1 (p. 391). The bronze buckles are however certainly early. The strap end Pl. CLII, 12, is noteworthy, as the form occurs here and there in England, as Pl. CLII, 1, from Croydon, Surrey, in the Grange Wood Museum, and is also found in Hanover and Schleswig in connections that make us sure of its early date. Pl. CLIII, 1, is an example from Quelkhorn at Geestemünde and Pl. CXLIX, 6, was found at Hammoor B, Holstein, and is in the Museum at Kiel.

The most interesting objects however in the Dorchester find are those numbered 2, 3, 6, 7 on Pl. CLII. They are in themselves of no great intrinsic importance but similar objects occur elsewhere at home and abroad in connections that give them no little archaeological interest, and they possess the additional attraction that their character and purpose are enigmatical. It should be said at once that specimens occurred in the cemetery at Vermand so that their early date is assured, while the same types are represented by finds in the Elbe mouth cemeteries and in Hanover. The most characteristic piece is the round disc of bronze Pl. CLII, 3, from Dorchester, with faceted edges and attachments that will have afterwards to be considered. In our own country similar pieces have been found at Croydon, Pl. CLII, 5, 8, at Norwich, Pl. CLII, 4, at Milton next Sittingbourne, Kent, No. 9, and apparently at

EARLY BRONZE ROMANIZING OBJECTS



All approximately natural size

CLIII

facing p. 559

FOREIGN EQUAL ARMED FIBULAE, ETC.



4, slightly reduced
All Continental

Kempston, Beds.[1] Abroad, apart from the Vermand find,[2] specimens have been found in some of the early Belgian cemeteries,[3] and in the north J. H. Müller published one found in the cemetery at Perlberg, Kreis Stade,[4] well known to British antiquaries from the notice of it in Kemble's *Horae Ferales.*

How the object is to be explained is not easy to say. There are useful discussions on all these associated objects that occur in the Dorchester find, in M. Pilloy's *Études*, vol. I, 237 f., vol. II, 224 f., vol. III, 242 f. In one place, I, 243, he sees in the disc part of a mantle clasp, but in his later discussions he regards these solid little bronze buttons, that run from $\frac{3}{4}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. in diameter, as meant to fortify the front of leathern straps that hung down from the Roman soldier's belt over the front of the body, to serve as protection and at the same time not to interfere with the movement of the limbs. Soldiers on Roman tombstones may be seen wearing these protective adjuncts to body armour that correspond in position to the sporran of the Highlander.[5] In connection with this he explains pieces like Pl. CLII, 7, which occur numerously in the early Franco-Roman cemeteries, as the plates serving for connection between the belt and the set of pendant straps. A bronze cylinder with classical mouldings forms the top of plates of the kind and a thong through this might attach it to the belt, while the marks of rivets on the flat piece below show where pendent pieces could be fastened. Such a cylinder however seems to serve as a finish to flat

[1] The entry in the inventory, 'Grave II . . . a bronze ring with a lipped upper edge: attached to this a piece of flattened bronze, with rivet-hole,' etc., seems to imply this. *Ass. Soc. Reports*, 1864, 285.

[2] Published in Pilloy, *Études*, II, Vermand, pl. 16.

[3] e.g. at Furfooz, *Annales de la Soc. Archéologique de Namur*, XIV, 399.

[4] J. H. Müller, *Vor- und Frühgeschichtliche Alterthümer der Provinz Hannover*, Taf. XXII, 218.

[5] e.g. Taf. III to VI of Lindenschmit's *Tracht und Bewaffnung des Römischen Heeres.*

plates used in other connections, and it may have been meant just to act as a stiffener. The use of the bronze discs with faceted edges for the purpose M. Pilloy suggests is of course possible, though in this case we should expect to find the pieces together in some quantities, not as is the fact singly or in twos and threes. They are practically indestructible. We have the advantage in this country that some of these discs have come to light with attachments still in position, that give an idea how they may have been used, but do not fit in very readily with M. Pilloy's suggestion. The examples at Vermand from which he argues have a loop as part of the disc through which plays a ring which again is caught above in the bight of a bent strip of bronze. If the ring and loop Pl. CLII, 2, be supposed attached through an eye to a bronze disc pendent below, we have the Vermand arrangement. At Croydon however, No. 5, the eye above the disc is a loop prolonged downwards at the back by a strip 3½ in. long, and as the side view, No. 8, shows, the strip has a shoulder at the back, and to give additional security the centre of the disc is pierced for a rivet that runs through the strip at the back and prevents the loop opening by the bending of the strip. Such a rivet can be seen in situ in the Sittingbourne specimen in the Maidstone Museum, Pl. CLII, 9. The strips numbered 6 on the Plate may have formed part of an arrangement of the kind, which rather suggests the sort of attachment that we find on the bronze bowls of the hanging kind, Pll. CXVII to CXX. Seeing that the round discs shown on the sporrans on Roman tombstones number as many as 70 or 80, it is inconceivable that each one can have been embarrassed with a complicated attachment of this kind.

Pll. CLIII, CLIV, exhibit other objects of this same early romanizing class, on which the animal form is rendered in a more or less naturalistic fashion. It may be repeated that they are of value from two points of view, on the one hand as evidence of early date in the deposits in which they occur,

BUCKLES, ETC., WITH ROMANIZING ORNAMENT



All approximately natural size

on the other as supplying the animal forms that are the starting point of the specially Teutonic 'Thierornamentik' so conspicuous on objects in the tomb furniture of VI. These early buckles, brooches, and other objects of bronze, belong on the Continent to IV rather than V and in our own country may be ascribed to V. If they were brought ready made to our shores by early raiders or settlers they may belong to IV, if made in this country we could not date them before the latter half of V, and they may belong to any time before about 500 A.D., after which date the ornamental motives become more decidedly Teutonized.

The broad equal-armed fibulae may receive attention first. It has been suggested that they are a direct adaptation of the Roman form shown on the left hand side of Pl. CXLVIII, but it is noteworthy that they appear to belong not to the borderlands of the Empire but rather to the Elbe-mouth region where the type is fully represented, while elsewhere on the Continent it does not appear. As we have already seen in connection with the full-faced human head (p. 322 f.), Roman forms, especially the 'Randthiere,' found their way early to the Hanoverian region, and the equal armed fibula with these features need not surprise us by its appearance there at an early date, but it is a curious fact that the form does not make itself known anywhere else but there and in the English Midlands, though a specimen, fragmentary but unmistakable, was found in the Holstein cemetery at Hammoor, north-east of Hamburg, and is now in the Museum at Kiel.

The *Jahrbuch* of the Provincial Museum in Hanover for 1907-8[1] contains, p. 22, a list of the then known examples from north-west Germany, eight in number, and to these must be added a fine one from Quelkhorn in the Museum at Geestemünde as well as a portion of another, and the fragments of the one from Hammoor B. The English examples number three, of which that found at Kempston, figured Pl.

[1] Hannover, W. Riemschneider, 1908.

xxxvii, 7 (p. 247), is small, debased, and obviously late, while the other two are equal to the Hanoverian ones. Of these two the specimen Pl. cliv, 5, comes from Haslingfield, Cambs, and is in the Cambridge Museum. The width of the larger of the two parts is $3\frac{8}{4}$ in. This may be compared with the Hanoverian specimen shown Pl. cliii, 4, that was found in a tumulus at Anderlingen and was not in connection with a cremated burial, so that it is reckoned comparatively late among the local finds of the migration period. In date it may correspond with the Haslingfield piece which it resembles in the lively set of 'Randthiere.' The piece Pl. cliv, 4, was found at Little Wilbraham, Cambs, and is now at Audley End. It is $3\frac{8}{8}$ wide, and is duller in design than No. 5. No. 3 on Pl. cliii is the fragment from Quelkhorn in the Museum at Geestemünde and it is figured here because the foliage character of the scroll that forms its chief ornamentation is particularly well developed. No. 2 gives the back view with the spring coil. It may be repeated that though these objects are only found in the north of Germany and in Midland districts in England yet the ornament on them is in the provincial-Roman style, and the form probably a direct development from a Roman type such as was noted on Pl. clviii. See (p. 553 f.).

The enriched buckle with its chape and complementary plate, No. 1 on Pl. cliv, introduces us to another use of the animal form as an ornamental motive. The piece is from the Alfriston, Sussex, find, and is of bronze once plated with tin, as is shown by remaining bright fragments just behind the upper hinge joining the chape to the bow. Four round sinkings on each plate, which is $1\frac{7}{16}$ in. in its longest dimension, are filled with a transparent yellow substance that seems too hard for glass, and on each side of the row of inlays are two recumbent animals represented in profile. This form of the animal is as much Roman or 'transitional' as are the 'Randthiere' and the beast's head as terminal or as a

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS



2, 12, 14, natural size; 1, nearly double natural size; 3, 4, about half size; 5, 6, $\frac{3}{5}$ natural size; 11, reduced by $\frac{1}{4}$

6, 8, 9, 10, are Continental

πρόκροσσος, but it appears in English work in connections that make us doubt whether it is necessarily so early as, say, the terminal heads on the bow of the buckles. On the Continent it makes its appearance on the chapes of buckles of IV type such as some at Vermand, or an often-figured example from Sedan[1] and a similar piece in the Museum at Budapest,[2] and is certainly quite early. In the examples just mentioned it is engraved on a flat surface. In our own country the same creature, that we find on the Alfriston buckle engraved in outline, occurs in another technique on the chape of the Brighthampton sword, Pl. XXVII, 8 (p. 221), and is also found again in line on the enigmatical bronze object from Croydon, Pl. XCIX, 4 (p. 419), and on the silver penannular brooch from Sarre, Pl. XLIX, 1 (p. 281), perhaps also on the Bifrons pendant Pl. CII, 1 (p. 425). In the round we have seen it on the end of the silver spoon, Pl. XCV, 3 (p. 407). Pl. CLV, 1, adds a characteristic piece from Buckinghamshire in the Museum at Aylesbury. It is probably a belt ornament, or an applique meant for some other purpose, and measures 1½ in. on its longest side. On this piece, especially in parts, the recumbent animal viewed in profile is a good deal degraded, but there is no doubt about what is intended. The technique is curious and looks like carved work. It is probably cast from a wooden model, for the triangular sinkings between the under part of the body and the hind leg of the creature are in the chip-carving technique. Besides the animals, early linear ornament of a romanizing type occurs in the central panel.

Linear ornamentation of a similar kind, reminding us of the sharp faceting on the edges of the bronze discs lately discussed, on the feet of Roman fibulae, the butt-ends of tweezers, and other objects, occurs on the belt ornament from High Down, Sussex, Pl. CLV, 2. This has at the two sides

[1] Salin, *Thierornamentik*, fig. 338.

[2] Hampel, *Alterthümer in Ungarn*, III, Taf. 49.

of it the projecting horses' heads we have come to know on the combs and elsewhere, as Pll. E, 1 (p. 519); LXXXVII, 1 (p. 391), and the central square is adorned with sharply cut sinkings in a geometrical pattern. In both these pieces the animal and linear ornament and the technique represent the Roman tradition, but it does not follow that these and similar examples need all be relegated to V. Neither High Down nor Alfriston are very early cemeteries and the first half or middle of VI would be a reasonable date to conjecture. The same date may be suggested for the Sarre penannular brooch Pl. XLIX, 1 (p. 281), the animal design and the workmanship of which are so excellent, while the flattened quoit form of the ring and the somewhat complicated make of the piece generally do not appear very early. The quoit form of brooch is not Roman and appears to have been developed out of the earlier annular form by a process of flattening (p. 285). The evolution was accomplished at an early date, for a simple quoit brooch, Pl. XXXVI, 8 (p. 245) occurred in one of the earliest graves at Bifrons, in company with Pll. XXXIV, 10, 11; XXXVI, 6; XCIV, 2 (p. 405); CIX, 2 (p. 457), and one of the penannular form, Pl. LI, 1 (p. 287), was found in the early interments on the line of the Watling Street at Cestersover (p. 774), and in both cases a date about 500 A.D. is plausible. It is unlikely however that an elaborate piece with complicated mechanism was made much before 550 A.D., and in the notice on a subsequent page (p. 685 f.) of the cemetery at Alfriston, Sussex, some comparisons are drawn the result of which would be to bring the piece within the middle third of VI. The Croydon object, Pl. XCIX, 4 (p. 419), where the same couchant animal is introduced into the ornamentation may be earlier, for bronze tubes like those of which it is made up are found in an early grave deposit on Chatham Lines, that may go back to about 500.

If an advanced date in VI be rightly assigned to some objects of this kind it would show that a Roman tradition was still

dominant in certain artistic circles at a time when Teutonic animal ornament had already begun to shape its wayward course. We saw previously that the hilt of the Brighthampton sword probably dated the weapon in VI in spite of the profile animals on the chape. In other words, as was pointed out earlier in this book (p. 14 f.) we must not press the typological argument too far, and assume that work was being carried on everywhere on the same lines at each successive epoch of Anglo-Saxon art history.

Too much need not be made of the differences observable in the rendering of the animal in the various pieces that have been quoted or figured. The creature is at its best on the Sarre brooch and perhaps at its worst on the Aylesbury belt plate, Pl. CLV, 1, yet the faceted linear ornament on other parts of this object would justify an ascription to quite an early date.

Pl. CLV, 3, 4, illustrate the relation between Roman work and the imitation of this by the barbaric craftsman on which we may compare Pl. CL (p. 555). Both pieces show knife handles in cast bronze with the design in open work of a dog pursuing a hare. No. 3, now in the Cambridge Museum was found at Richborough, Kent, a Roman site, and No. 4 comes from Bifrons. The first is clearly Roman work, the latter looks much more like an Anglo-Saxon imitation. The particular motive is not uncommon in this transitional period both at home and in northern France.

CHAPTER XI

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE CONNECTED WITH THE MIGRATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS

THE CORNER stone of old English ethnology is the statement in Bede about the original seats of the Teutonic conquerors of Britain and the parts of our island in which each of them settled. Bede apparently assumes it to be a matter of common knowledge that his countrymen in general came from what was anciently known as the Cimbric peninsula, answering to the modern Jutland, Schleswig and Holstein. As regards their distribution in that region his information is most definite in the case of the Angles, who came, he says, 'from that country which is called "Angulus," and which from that time till now is said to remain desolate between the provinces of the Jutes and the Saxons.' The approximate location of this Angulus is given by the survival to this day of the name 'Angeln' which can be read on the map of the modern Schleswig in the district between Schlei and Flensburg. It is true that this is only a small corner of the Cimbric peninsula but Angle-land was certainly much bigger than the modern Angeln. On this point Mr. R. W. Chambers's commentary on *Widsith*, sometimes called *The Traveller's Song*, may be consulted, and he shows by reference to King Alfred's *Orosius* that not only Jutland but also some of the important adjacent islands on the east of the peninsula were 'part of the original Anglian home.'[1] The ancient importance of the Angles in this region is attested by notices of them in the heroic literature of the Anglo-Saxons. It is a reasonable theory of

[1] *Widsith*, Cambridge University Press, 1912, p. 71 f., see also p. 241 f.

Beowulf that the poem received its present literary form at the court of the famous English King Offa of Mercia in the last part of VIII, but the scene of it is laid near to the earlier continental seat of the Angles in Schleswig. This had been ruled about the middle of IV by an earlier King Offa from whom the Mercian Offa claimed descent, and who is celebrated in the poem as 'for graces and war feats widely famed and ruling with wisdom his ancestral home,' while in the above mentioned *Traveller's Song*, an Anglo-Saxon poem of the first half of VII that is claimed to be 'the oldest monument of Germanic epic,' this same Offa is pictured as a potent warrior, who conquered the Danes and extended his kingdom to the Eider by victories over his neighbours to the south, who may very likely have been the Saxons. A powerful Anglian kingdom is in this way attested in the pre-migration period in Schleswig, and this implies a considerable population that could furnish materials when the time came for a migration *en masse* to England.

The statement about the desolate condition of the old territory of the Angles after their migration from it is attested archaeologically by the fact that after V, when the shifting of population had taken place, the district becomes almost barren as regards antiquarian discoveries, that is to say the objects which by appearing in cemeteries attested the existence and activity of a population in the region these cemeteries served, cease after a certain date, and suggest the inference that this population had taken its departure. This fact is of no little importance as securing credit for Bede's whole statement which contains, as will be seen, matter for which he is really our sole authority. If he be right about the Angles we may accept his location of the Jutes on the one side of this people and the Saxons on the other. Now the Saxons are placed by the geographer Ptolemy,[1] writing about the time of Marcus Aurelius, in 'the neck of the Cimbric

[1] II, xi, 7. Ἐφεξῆς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν αὐχένα τῆς Κιμβρικῆς Χερσονήσου Σάξονες.

peninsula,' a situation corresponding to the north of the modern Holstein, so that the Jutes would come on the other side, that is the north, of Angle-land, in the district which still bears their name in the form Jutland.

As regards the English seats occupied by the three peoples here mentioned Bede locates the Jutes in Kent and in the Isle of Wight and the parts of Hampshire over against it; the Saxons in Sussex, Essex, and Wessex; the Angles on the east coast from the Lothians to the borders of Essex and in the somewhat vaguely defined inland districts of Mercia and Mid-Anglia. This distribution is attested by the existing local nomenclature which is partly made up of the ethnic names, but this does not apply to the Jutish regions, to which this people has not bequeathed its appellation. Were it not indeed for this statement in Bede we should have no knowledge of the Jutes as settlers in England, but there is no reason to doubt what he tells us. Archaeological evidence, as well as the evidence of social customs, currency, and the like, proves that there existed marked differences between the early Teutonic inhabitants of Kent and the other Anglo-Saxon settlers.[1] Apart from Kent we really know nothing of the Jutes, so that we cannot claim that these peculiarities are attested elsewhere as Jutish, but the existence of the marked differences is so far in favour of the accuracy of Bede's information. The question of the archaeological relations among the groups of antiquities found in Jutish, Saxon, and Anglian regions, is, of course, one of the utmost importance and will be fully discussed in the sequel. When these relations are established we shall be in possession of a valuable body of evidence bearing on the question how far these three peoples were distinct how far ethnically and culturally allied, but the discussion must for the sake of clearness be deferred. For the moment it is enough to note that the differences are

[1] This evidence is fully stated and explained in Professor Chadwick's *The Origin of the English Nation*, Cambridge, 1907; see especially Chapter IV.

certainly not of a very fundamental kind. The fact is that the names Jute, Saxon, Angle are used even by Bede himself in so loose a fashion that he cannot himself have reckoned the racial distinctions as in any way absolute. Bede is apparently himself unmindful of these distinctions when in another passage he says that 'the race of the Angles or Saxons came to Britain,' as if these were alternative names for the same people, and speaks in yet another of 'the coming of the Angles' when according to his previous statement he ought to have said 'the coming of the Jutes.' Apart indeed from Bede, the variations in the use of the terms 'Saxon' and 'Angle' are very curious, and form the subject of an article in the new *Reallexicon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*. For example, the word 'Saxon' was used in the oldest times, as it has been employed ever since, by the Celtic peoples to denote their Teutonic neighbours, and the Angle of the north is as much a Saxon to the Scottish Highlander as is the inhabitant of Wessex to the Welsh. On the other hand, in the literature of Wessex the word 'Angle' and its compounds is commonly applied to the people and the language of the whole country, and the terms 'England' and 'English' go back to times when the predominant people in Britain were not any of the Angles but the Saxons of Wessex.

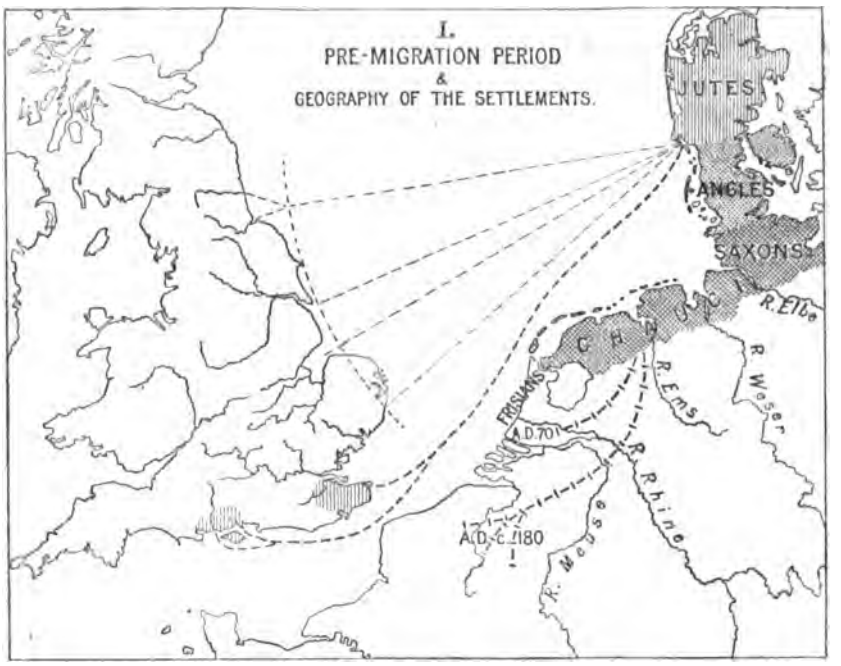
This does not mean that no differences can have existed between Angle and Saxon or between Anglo-Saxon and Jute, but that these differences were of small account when compared with the more important characteristics all the three peoples possessed in common, characteristics marking off the Teutonic conquerors in general from the Romanized Britons or Gauls whose lands they overran, and marking off also the settlers in Britain from those who came to occupy France and Italy. This consideration applies not to Britain alone but to the whole Teutonic area over which we find distributed peoples that in their essential ethnic character were one, though they were divided up into numerous aggregates differing in name,

position, and history. In north-western Europe in the early migration period it is extremely difficult to decide how far the use of a common name implies close ethnic affinity among the peoples to which it is applied, how far these names are used loosely as generic terms for tribes each of which is possessed of its own special appellation. The word 'Saxon,' to take one example, is evidently used as a collective name for several peoples, and Müllenhof[1] goes so far as to say that from I onwards the sea robbers from the north were sometimes called Jutes, sometimes Heruli, Suevi, Angli, Warni, Friesones, but for the most part Saxons, and Dr. Krom[2] thinks that at the end of IV all maritime raiders were commonly called 'Saxons.' It is advisable to bear this caution in mind so as to avoid attaching too definite a meaning to the various ethnic names with which the history of this migration period is replete.

With this in remembrance we may accept Bede's statement about the original seats of the English and their distribution among the districts of Britain, though it should be added that one good early authority, Procopius, mentions a fourth people, the Frisians, as having shared in the conquest of our island. When, in what order, and by which routes, was effected this transference of peoples from one side to the other of the North Sea Bede does not distinctly tell us, though we may gather certain information from his history, and may supplement this by a critical use of other sources, such as Gildas, Nennius, and the Saxon Chronicles. All literary authorities agree that the first definite settlement was made in Kent, and Bede tells us that these immigrants were Jutes. The Chronicle makes the first settlement of the Saxons in Sussex. About the Angles we hear little more than the important fact that theirs was a migration en masse. Such a migration would naturally be a direct one, for there would be no reason for

[1] *Nordalbingische Studien*, I, 116.

[2] *De Populis Germanis antiquo tempore patriam nostram incolentibus Anglo-Saxonumque Migrationibus*. Lugd. Bat., 1908, p. 138.



the Angles to leave a country where they had apparently been flourishing except to take possession of known seats of a specially promising kind. Now a glance at Map 1, above, will show that the parts of England settled by the Angles lie nearer to their continental seats than any other portion of the British Isles. Hence there is no geographical difficulty in the way of a direct passage across the intervening ocean to the Wash and the mouths of the Humber or the Tees.

The case is different when we figure to ourselves the migrations of the Jutes and the Saxons. The original starting point of the former is further from Britain than the seats of her other Teutonic invaders yet the Jutes are represented as occupying Kent, the Isle of Wight, and Hampshire, comparatively remote parts of our island, while the Saxons starting from Holstein or the mouth of the Elbe colonize at their first settlement Sussex, to reach which they would have to pass round our eastern and southern coast leaving eligible spots for

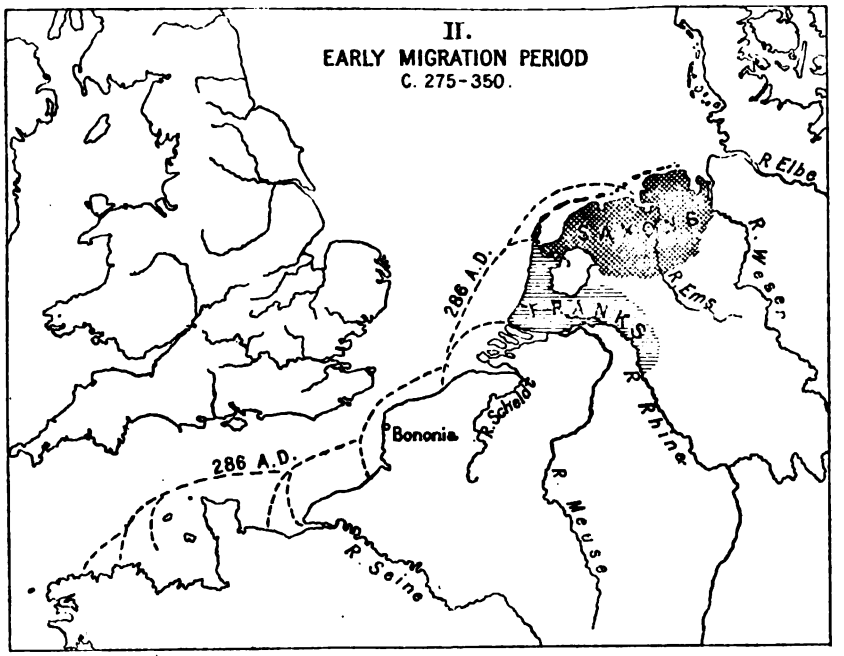
a landing, such as East Anglia or Essex, all unnoticed on their beam. In both cases we should anticipate a descent on nearer and more directly accessible British districts, and this initial difficulty leads us to ask what we actually know of the movements of these peoples which finally landed them on our shores. In the case of the Jutes we possess no information, but from both history and archaeology we learn a good deal about the Saxons or the aggregate of peoples called by that general name, and this proves that prior to their settlements in Britain they were much in evidence along the continental coasts south and west of their original seats as far as the Atlantic, and makes it probable that they invaded south-eastern Britain from near the mouths of the Rhine and the Scheldt rather than from those of the Elbe or the Weser.

The Map, No. 1, brings these geographical relations into view. Taking what is now Esbjerg as a convenient port of departure for the peoples of the Cimbric peninsula the comparative accessibility of our north-eastern coasts as compared with Kent and Sussex is by the radiating dotted lines at once made apparent. The distribution of the three peoples in the peninsula on the authority of Bede is also indicated. Furthermore the map shows the name 'Chauci' along the coast to the south-west of the Saxon territory. Tacitus describes the Chauci as a powerful and warlike race living apparently between the Elbe and the Ems,[1] while Pliny, who had served in their country, locates them along the coast and in certain islands to the east of the Frisians.[2] With them the Romans had many dealings alike of a friendly and of a hostile kind. Drusus and Tiberius make treaties with them and the Romans receive from them contingents for the army.[3] They remained true even after the overthrow of

[1] *De Mor. Germ.*, c. xxxv. 'Populus inter Germanos nobilissimus.'

[2] *Hist. Nat.*, xvi, i.

[3] Tacitus, *Ann.*, i, lx. 'Chauci, cum auxilia pollicerentur in commilitium adsciti sunt.'



Varus, but before the middle of I they invade lower Germany which is freed from them by Corbulo,[1] and about A.D. 70 they oppose the Romans in the Batavian rising.[2] A century later, in the time of Commodus about 180 A.D., they break into Belgic Gaul where they are defeated by Didius Julianus.[3] After this we hear no more of them, and it is a plausible and widely accepted hypothesis that the Chauci were after this time in some way amalgamated with the Saxons, or that the name 'Saxons' was transferred to them, for as a fact in III the Saxons emerge into the light in the same regions and engaged in the same operations as the Chauci. Map II shows the probable situations of peoples in the latter half of III. The exact position of the Frisians at the time is not easy to

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, XI, xviii.

[2] Tac., *Hist.*, IV, lxxix.

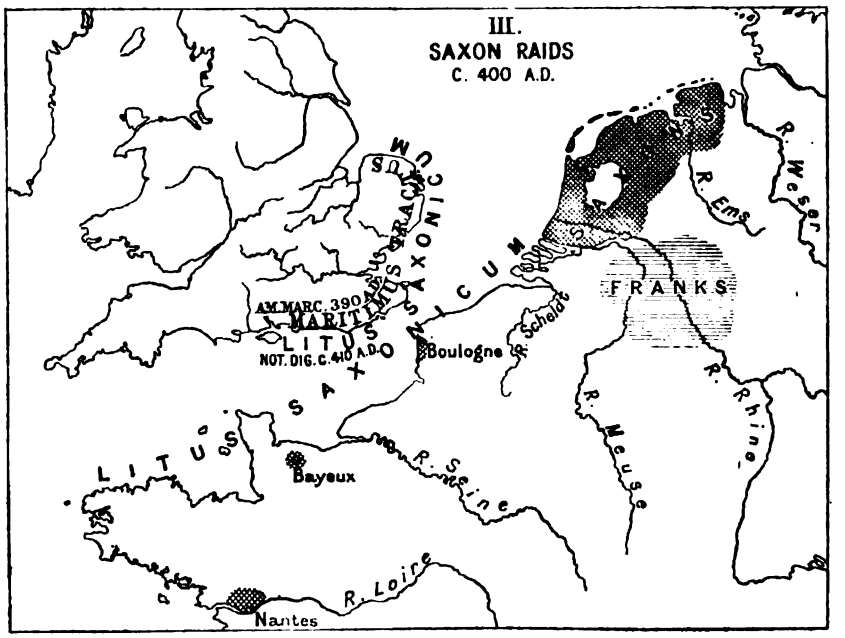
[3] Spartianus, *Vit. Did. Jul.*, I, 7. 'Belgicam sancte ac diu rexit. Ibi Cauchis, Germaniae populis, qui Albim fluvium adcolebant, erumpentibus restitit.

fix, but a portion of them had made a raid into Gaul and were afterwards settled there and are mentioned as a 'cohors Frisiavonum' in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. The older Batavians seem to have disappeared from what is now Holland and their place is taken by the Salian Franks who have moved to the west of the Yssel, while the 'Saxons' lie to the north and east of them. The Saxons, or the confederation of peoples called by that name, join with the Franks in combined raids on Gaul about the year 286, in the course of which the sea rovers' keels may have swept the Channel as far as Armorica or Brittany.[1] Somewhat later, in the time of the Emperor Julian about the middle of IV, the pressure westwards of the Saxons appears to have forced the Salian Franks across the Rhine to an undefined inland district called Toxandria,[2] and the Saxons, perhaps including the Frisians, are in possession of the coast lands as far as the Rhine. See Map III.

It was in these maritime seats that the Saxons displayed those conspicuous qualities as professional raiders which so deeply impressed the inhabitants of the coasts open to their ravages. Ammianus Marcellinus[3] writes of them that they were formidable to the provincials above all other enemies owing to their suddenness. No one, he explains, could guard against them for they formed no plans beforehand, but made casual raids upon distant regions just where the wind carried them. In the middle of V we obtain from the pen of Sidonius Apollinaris[4] an interesting contemporary description of the Saxons as they appeared in their character of ruthless sea rovers before the trembling Gallic provincials. He is writing to a Roman commander who is about to embark on a naval expedition directed against 'the curved pinnaces of the Saxons.' They are arch-pirates, all at once and in unison

[1] Eutropius, bk. IX, c, 21, in *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Auct. antiquiss., II, Carausius . . . cum apud Bononiam per tractum Belgicae et armoricae pacandum mare accepisset, quod Franci et Saxones infestabant.'

[2] Amm. Marc., XVII, viii, 3. [3] ibid., XXVIII, ii. 12. [4] *Ep.*, VIII, 6.



commanding, obeying, teaching, and learning their one chosen business of brigandage. The most truculent, most elusive, of foes, they strike when least expected, and when they are off again with spoil and prisoners to their own country they crucify some of their captives to ensure from their gods a safe return. The most interesting passage in the letter is that which concerns their seamanship. 'To these men,' he writes, 'a shipwreck is good practice rather than a matter of terror. The dangers of the deep are to them not casual acquaintances but intimate friends, for since a tempest throws the invaded off their guard and prevents the assailants from being descried from afar, they hail with joy the crash of waves on the rocks which gives them their best chance of getting the better of enemies other than the elements.'

Map III indicates the state of affairs in regard to Saxon incursions into Gaul in the last quarter of IV. Ammianus is our chief authority.[1] Writing of the time of Valentinian I

[1] *Hist. Rom.*, XXXVII, viii, 5.

(364-375) he speaks of the regions of Gaul infested by the Franks and their neighbours the Saxons both by land and sea, so that wherever they could find entrance there was rapine and conflagration and the murder of those captured. An inland raid on the part of the Saxons some time in this period is important because in connection with it we find a reference to the youthful Saxons, like the earlier Chauci, taking service in the Roman army, a notice the significance of which will be seen as we proceed. The *Notitia Dignitatum* mentions an 'Ala Saxonum.' So busy were the Saxons along the northern coasts of Gaul that the *Notitia Dignitatum*, or official Gazetteer of the Roman military system, in an entry dating from the early years of V, refers to the whole maritime region from the Scheldt to Brittany, under the name of 'Litus Saxonicum per Gallias,' 'the Saxon shore of Gaul.' Literary evidence of actual settlements in Gaul exists, though it must be admitted that archaeological discoveries do not supply much confirmation. In 451 a body of Saxons fight under the banners of Aetius against Attila. About the same time we can locate them on the authority of Gregory of Tours[1] in the north-west region of Gaul near the mouth of the Loire, and somewhat later their further advance inland was resisted by the Franks and the Visigoths. A century afterwards there is evidence of independent Saxon communities near Nantes and near Bayeux where they were known as Saxones Bajocassini. The evidence of place names seems to indicate a Saxon settlement near Boulogne,[2] for in that arrondissement the terminal syllable -thun occurs twenty-seven times, and some of the places in question have the same names as English villages. There is an 'Alincthun' ('Alingetuna' in a document of 1208) which corresponds with our 'Allington.' 'Dirlingthun'

[1] *Hist. Franc.*, II, XVIII, XIX; see also IV, XIV; V, XXVII, etc.

[2] De Loisne, 'La colonisation saxonne dans le Boulonnais' in *Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, Série VII, tom. V, 1906, p. 139.

is the same as 'Dirleton' near North Berwick, and 'Fauketon' ('Foukestun' in 1307) is obviously the 'Folkestone' of the other side of the Channel. The Norman 'Ouistreham' at the mouth of the river that runs up to Caen is our 'Westham' which occurs at Pevensey and elsewhere in England. As was intimated on the last page it cannot be said that archaeological evidence does anything to support the presumption thus raised of actual Saxon settlements in the parts in question. The cemeteries in the neighbourhood of Boulogne and in Pas de Calais generally and the seaward districts of Picardy and Normandy do not yield, except of course quite accidentally, objects of a specially 'Saxon' character. For example the pottery in Museums such as those of Boulogne, Amiens, Rouen, is uniformly of the regular Frankish type.

Turning now to the historical evidence for the early Saxon connection with the other side of the Channel with which we are more specially concerned, we find the chief historical indications noted on Map III (p. 575). Ammianus includes Britain with the Gauls as the objective of the Saxon raids to which he refers in the passsages dated on the map, but it is noteworthy that he does not use the term 'Litus Saxonicum' as applying to any part of the Britannic coasts. Early in V the *Notitia Dignitatum* refers to a 'Litus Saxonicum per Britannias,' corresponding to the south-eastern coast of our island from the Wash round to Porchester in Hampshire. Ammianus writing about 390 only knows this part as 'maritimus tractus,' and the inference has been drawn that the Saxons who had up to the end of IV only raided the coasts opposite their continental seats had by the beginning of V effected settlements upon them and in this way impressed upon them their name. To this question reference will be made (pp. 674, 790) in connection with archaeological evidence, but it may be said here at once that there is no more support in the finds for the view of an early settlement on our own Saxon Shore than exists in the case of the supposed Saxonized parts

of northern France. A good contemporary authority, the Southern Gallic Chronicle, known as *Chronicon Imperiale*,[1] under the date 409 A.D. states that at that time Britain was being devastated by the Saxons, and twenty years later occurs that well known military event the so-called 'Hallelujah victory,' in which under the direction of Bishop Germanus of Auxerre, in his secular days a skilled soldier, the Christianized Britons put to rout an invading host of Picts and of Saxons.[2] The action took place in some hilly region in the interior of the island, possibly in Derbyshire.

What has now been said about the movements of the Saxons and their incursions on the lands on both sides of the North Sea and Channel will have made it highly probable that the Saxon parts of our island were colonized not from the original seats of the people in Holstein but from their later rallying places over against our south-eastern coasts. Historical evidence confirms in this matter the statement by Adam of Bremen[3] who writing in XI tells us that the Saxons dwelt first upon the Rhine, and that part of them coming from thence to Britain drove the Romans out of that island, while another part conquered Thuringia and there settled—becoming he might have added the 'Old,' or Continental, Saxons, mentioned by Bede and others of our early writers. How far, it must now be asked, are we justified in assuming a similar course of events in the case of the Jutes and the Angles? A movement of Jutes to the regions near the mouths of the Rhine and a temporary residence there before the settlements in England is not attested by any direct statements in our literary authorities, but there is as will be seen archaeological evidence of the most convincing kind that something of the sort must have taken place. The fact may be

[1] Edited by Th. Mommsen in *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Auct. Antiquiss., vol. IX.

[2] Constantius, *Vita Germani*, in *Acta Sanctorum*, July VII. The passage is quoted by Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, i, 20.

[3] *Hist. Eccl.*, I, 3.

mentioned, though too much stress must not be laid upon it, that the Frankish prince Theodebert (p. 61), writing about the year 540 to the Emperor Justinian, informs him that together with the Saxons the 'Eucii' had made voluntary submission to his rule. Some recent authorities, such as Dr. Ludwig Schmidt,[1] identify these 'Eucii' or 'Eutii' with the Jutes, and derive from the passage assurance that the people had their seats at that time, and presumably before it, in the vicinity of the Franks.

With respect to the Angles, we have already seen that Bede's statement invites us to accept a migration en masse directly from Schleswig to the north-eastern parts of Britain, but it does not follow that this accounts for all the Anglian settlements in our country. A portion of the Angles, like a portion of the Jutes, may have joined in the stream of Teutonic migration to the west and south which has been followed in connection with the Saxons,[2] and it is held by some that the settlement of East Anglia was probably effected independently of the general Anglian migration, and from seats near the mouths of the Rhine. A story in Procopius which will be referred to on a later page (p. 764 f.) seems to show a rather close connection between Norfolk and Suffolk and the continental region opposite to them, while the passage just quoted from Adam of Bremen contains in most but not in all MSS. an additional clause to which it is possible to attach a similar significance. After the words 'Saxones primo circa Rhenum sedes habebant' all the Codices but one (the one however that is at the same time the most authoritative) add the parenthesis '(et vocati sunt Angli),' a phrase which justifies the view that under the general name 'Saxons' may have been included peoples or sections of peoples known sometimes by distinctive individual titles.

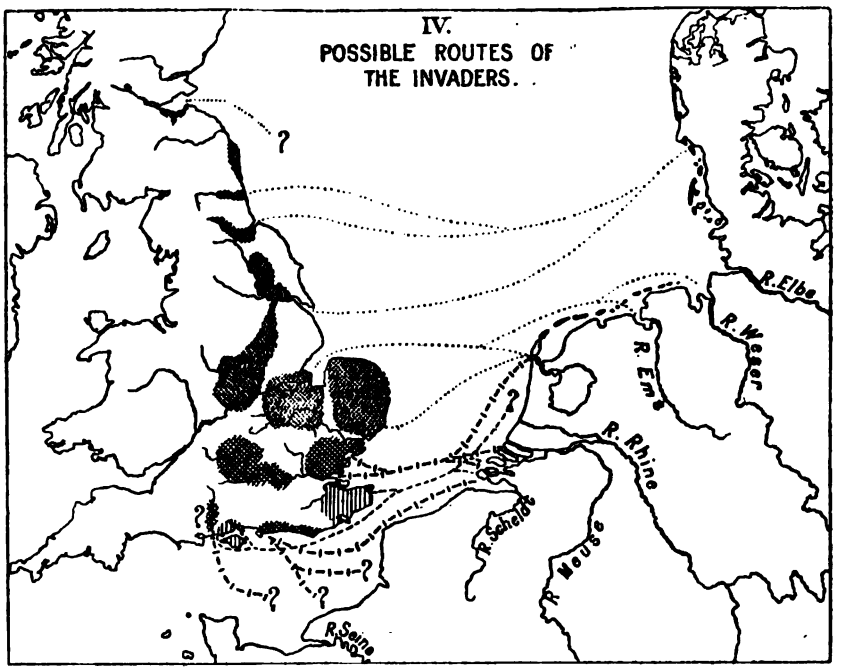
A theory, or rather theories, of the course of the migrations

[1] *Allg. Gesch. d. Germ. Völker*, München, 1909, p. 149.

[2] R. W. Chambers, *Widsith*, p. 246.

and settlements, which we have seen to be supported though hardly proved by literary evidence, and which in some points are strikingly confirmed by archaeological discoveries, are presented in graphic form in Map IV, the aim of which is not so much to lay down any one hard and fast line along which events must have progressed, as to give the various possibilities of the situation in such a form that they can be easily grasped. Here the Jutes are seen crossing to Kent and coasting along the Channel to the Isle of Wight and Hampshire from starting points in the region of the mouths of the Rhine, though their connection with more northerly seats is at the same time indicated; the Saxons, already in these seas ubiquitous, may have crossed to Sussex, and may possibly have entered inlets in our southern coasts further to the west, from the opposite side of the Channel or more probably from those regions of the modern Holland where, as shown in Map III (p. 575), was the centre of their power. From the ports here, as modern travellers to and from the Continent are aware, the traject to Essex is easy, and the same applies to the mouth of the Thames which archaeological finds exhibit as the gateway to those inland regions which became the seat of the West Saxon power. With regard to the Angles, Bede's migration en masse from Schleswig is compatible with other Anglian movements more in accordance with the proved ones of the Saxons, and East Anglia may very well have been colonized, as suggested above, from intermediate seats. The above are only advanced as plausible historical hypotheses, and the next step will be to inquire what support they receive from archaeological discoveries.

For the present purpose the most important archaeological fact connecting England with the Continent is the distribution of the characteristic pottery described and illustrated at the beginning of the last chapter. We call this pottery 'Anglian,' for the reason that it is more abundant and exhibits bolder and more characteristic forms in our Anglian regions than in



those occupied by the Saxons, but continental writers, German, Dutch and Belgian, speak of it as 'Saxon,' and this simple fact casts a flood of light on the relations between Angle and Saxon which in our country have an importance they do not possess abroad. On the Continent the Angle plays no part in the history of the migration period and is merely an archaeological curiosity. On this side of the sea he is represented as peopling by far the larger part of Teutonized England. Judging by their common use of the pottery just mentioned the 'Angles' of England must have been very similar culturally to the so-called 'Saxons' of the Continent, and we should be quite ready on this ground to believe that part of them at any rate had shared in those movements towards the south and west, attested as we have seen both by history and by archaeology, that preceded the settlement in England. The pottery therefore is a piece of archaeological evidence that exhibits the resemblance of Saxons and Angles.

Other pieces of evidence of the same kind as we shall see tend to emphasize their difference and these will presently be noticed.

For the moment we may still keep to the pottery as a whole and may note the remarkable divergence in the use of it on the two sides of the North Sea. Save in parts of Holland where inhumation occurs, and also in one or two examples in Belgium (p. 492), it may be said that on the Continent practically every 'Saxon' urn is a cinerary one and every burial is by the method of cremation, while with ourselves in all regions urns of the very same kind are in countless cases found with inhumed burials, and the two rites are almost everywhere except in Kent used in conjunction. The facts about our own country may be summarized as follows.

We shall see good reason for dividing England as a whole into three main areas with certain other outlying self-contained districts. The whole of the Thames basin including Essex, with the basins of the Hampshire Avon and the Warwickshire Avon, is one district that is regarded as the East and West Saxon area, and to this fall to be added as adjuncts the self-contained South Saxon region, and the two Jutish provinces of Kent and the Isle of Wight with part of Hampshire. Next, on the northern and eastern sides of the watershed that separates the basins of the Thames and the Warwickshire Avon from those of the Trent and the rivers discharging into the Wash, comes the Anglian region, embracing Mercia and Mid-Anglia, or the areas watered by the streams last mentioned, together with Lincolnshire, and to this main Anglian area is added the self-contained East Anglia incorporating the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. Finally, from the Humber northwards come the provinces of Deira and Bernicia, of which only the southernmost one, practically speaking eastern and central Yorkshire, is of much importance from the point of view of archaeology. See Maps Nos. v, vi, vii, viii.

In what way we may ask is the practice of cremation distributed over these areas?

In Jutish Kent and the other Jutish districts there appears to be no undoubted instance of cremation among the Teutonic settlers,[1] and Kentish pottery in its most characteristic form, that of the bottle-shaped vase (p. 506), gives no hint at the previous practice of the rite, for such urns could never have been used to contain calcined bones. In Sussex instances of human cremation do occur, but they are very few,[2] while among the people who ascended the Thames Valley and founded the kingdom of Wessex cremation was in use but was apparently rapidly dying out. It is found at sites all the way up the Thames Valley[3] but not on every site, and is much less frequent in connection with settlements in the lateral valleys of the tributaries of the main stream. In Essex there is no evidence of its use. On the other hand, in the Anglian cemeteries across the border from Essex, in East Anglia and Cambridgeshire, the rite is in full employment, though again not in every burying ground nor exclusively in any one of these. In the territories of the Mid-Angles and the Mercians cremation is also represented in every district though not on every site, and here, at any rate in Northants and Derbyshire, cemeteries are found in which cremation appears the only method in use for the disposal of the corpse. The same appearances meet us in Yorkshire, where there are purely cremation cemeteries as well as those in which the two rites are coexistent, and those where inhumation only is found, and it is worth noting that the most northerly of all the cemeteries of ancient Northumbria, that at Darlington, a little north of the Tees, showed no signs that bodies had been burned. In the Maps, v to viii, that give a conspectus of

[1] For the examples quoted from Coombe by Sandwich and Folkestone see (pp. 222, 696); for (non-Jutish) cremation in North Kent (p. 627 f.) and for the discovery of supposed cinerary urns at Hollingbourne and Maidstone (p. 741).

[2] The examples are noticed (p. 677 f.).

[3] See Chapter xiii (pp. 627, 631, 634, 642, 646, 659, etc.).

the more important Anglo-Saxon finds in different parts of England the cemeteries where the use of cremation has been established are underlined. As regards the comparative chronology of the two rites, what was said in the Introductory Chapter (p. 147) may be recalled. Though on the whole cremation is the earlier rite, this is by no means a hard and fast rule, for, if we take what seem to be the two earliest finds in the country, we note that one, at Great Addington, Northants, was of a cremation urn (p. 508), the other, at Dorchester-on-Thames (p. 557 f.), perhaps the earliest of all, was a find of objects accompanying inhumed skeletons.

It is undoubtedly a hard matter to reconcile this irregular and not always early use of the rite of cremation in our own country with the almost universal employment of it abroad by people who associated with it urns of exactly the same pattern as ours. If however it were the case that our invaders had been in touch with the South before they actually came here to settle, we could understand that the ancestral habit in the disposal of the dead may have become broken. Such communication with the South seems evidenced by the occurrence in the southerly regions of England of the romanizing bronze objects of which there has just been question. It is true that in our own country sporadic examples of this kind of work occur in the Midlands, as in Cambridgeshire and Rutland, Pl. CLIV, 2 (pp. 561, 779) and in Norfolk, Pl. CLII, 4 (p. 558); it is true also that there are occasional examples discovered in the cemeteries of northern Germany (p. 559) but the fact is thereby unaltered that, abroad, the work really belongs to the border lands between the Empire and the Teutonic regions to the north and east and, in England, to the Thames Valley area exhibited in Map v.

Southerly connections might in this way explain the fact that in the Thames Valley area and its adjoined districts cremation is, as it were, receding into the background, and this hypothesis is strikingly confirmed by the case of Jutish

Kent, where the affinities of tomb furniture generally are most markedly with the South, and where cremation is most markedly out of evidence.

It must however be remembered that, if Bede's account of the Angles be right, this explanation of the very partial use of cremation in this country, as compared with the regions of the Continent where 'Saxon' pottery appears, should not apply to the more northerly districts of England. Archaeological facts in Schleswig support as we have seen Bede's statement of a migration thence en masse of the population, and if this population, as we must assume would be the case, came directly across to our shores we should expect them to bring over unimpaired their traditional custom of burial. Now it is quite possible that in central Jutland this custom was in some measure that of inhumation, for cremation was at this time, though general, not universal in the North. In fact in an important set of graves on Bornholm the bodies were as a rule inhumed.[1] But granted that cremation prevailed among the Angles in their native seat, it is possible that a change in favour of inhumation began to operate soon after the settlement. The purely cremation cemetery at Heworth just outside York may for anything we know represent one of the earliest burial grounds of the new population; while some at any rate of the inhumation burials in the county, such as those on the Wolds, we know to have been quite late. As has been already pointed out (p. 48), there are other discrepancies between archaeological evidence and tradition in connection with the Anglian settlement of northern Britain, and in general it must be confessed that our knowledge of early Anglian affairs is extremely limited. On this point more will have to be said (p. 758 f.).

If the romanizing objects in bronze are evidence of an early connection with the South in the case of the settlers in the Thames basin, corresponding evidence of northern affinities

[1] Sophus Müller, *Nordische Alterthumskunde*, II, 185.

in the case of the Anglian peoples may be found in a characteristic piece of tomb furniture which belongs essentially to their domain, though it may occur occasionally in other parts. This object is the cruciform brooch of the genuine three-knobbed type.[1] In the survey of the cemeteries that follows, and that constitutes the statistical part of these two volumes (p. 38 f.), special attention is given to the distribution of this object, and it is shown that it does constitute a real 'discrimen' between Anglian and Saxon regions. It is as characteristically Anglian as the inlaid jewel work is Jutish, and the truth of this principle is not altered by the fact that in both cases the object or the style of work is represented sporadically outside its proper region.

On the Continent this same object is conspicuous by its marked absence from Frankish, Alamannic, and Burgundian cemeteries, as well as from those of Teutonic peoples more to the south and east, and it occurs most abundantly in the far north in Scandinavia. Its position in the lands from which our forefathers are supposed to have come is as follows. The prototypes of it (p. 259 f.) are included in the Nydam moss-finds of IV and occur in a rather more advanced form in the cemetery of Borgstedt in Schleswig, Fig. 12 (p. 259), and in a further stage of development in two examples from the important cemetery Hammoor B, not far from Hamburg, in what was formerly Holstein. These examples are sufficient to locate the type in this region at a time prior to any actual migration of either Saxons or Angles to our shores, and the fact that we find it again in our own cemeteries, in one case, at Dorchester, in the form like the Borgstedt specimen—compare Fig. 12 with Pl. XL, 6 (p. 259)—and in other cases in forms like that from Hammoor B, Pl. XL, 3, supplies us with valuable confirmation from the side of archaeology of the historical aperçu given in the foregoing pages. The cruciform brooch

[1] The origin, forms, and typology of this object were discussed in Chapter V (p. 258 f.).

is with us a distinctively Anglian institution, and it is a matter of importance to locate it in the home of the Angles in Schleswig.

It must be understood at the same time that while we may find as it were the cradle of the cruciform brooch in Schleswig, the theatre of its development on the Continent was not Schleswig-Holstein nor northern Germany, but Denmark and Norway. It was in Scandinavia that it was most abundant and attained its classical form. Its occurrence in northern Germany and in Friesland is only occasional, and it is by no means so much at home in the regions covered by the 'Saxon' pottery of which there has been question (p. 492 f.) as it is in the Anglian parts of England. The object in this way constitutes an interesting link of connection between northern England and Scandinavia, on which antiquaries such as Haakon Schetelig have a good deal to say.

The historical significance of the broad equal armed fibula Pll. CLIII, CLIV (p. 561), must have a word. The ornamentation and most probably the form of this are Roman, and yet on the Continent it is found so far as we know at present in northern Germany and Schleswig alone. Its appearance in the same shape in the basin of the Great Ouse in our own country undoubtedly implies such a close relation between the localities that it is clear that some of those who settled in the Mid-Anglian district came over directly from the Elbe mouth. The spout-handled urn, Pl. CXXXIX, 6 (p. 507), that was found with cremated bones in it at Great Addington on the Nene in Northamptonshire has also prototypes in the same region, though the type is more numerously represented in Scandinavia. It probably represents a very early intrusion of settlers from the Elbe-mouth region into this part of Mid-Anglia, but a difficulty presents itself here in the fact that the inhabitants of the Elbe-mouth region are regarded as Saxons whereas these Hanoverian brooches have been found in the Anglian regions of Britain. Mr. Thurlow Leeds[1] believes in a mixture of

[1] *The Archaeology*, etc., p. 81.

Anglian and Saxon elements, or a Saxon 'couche' overlaid by an Anglian, in the part of England where these brooches come to light, but, as we shall see later on (p. 615 f.), the districts watered by the streams discharging into the Wash appear to have been settled by immigrants ascending these streams from that estuary, and these immigrants must be ranked as Angles though this appellation is no guarantee of their ethnic purity.

The archaeology of Jutish Kent[1] we shall see later on to be complicated by the fact that, while the great bulk of the tomb furniture yielded up by its cemeteries is of a distinctly southern character as is also the method of disposing of the dead by inhumation, yet there are elements in this tomb furniture that have unmistakable affinities with the further north. This is an archaeological paradox on which something is said in Chapter XIV (p. 742 f.) and which is ably handled by Mr. Thurlow Leeds in the last chapter of the book to which reference has so often been made.

[1] It must be borne in mind that certain cemeteries in northern Kent are not regarded as Jutish, but as belonging to a different set of settlers who peopled the Thames Valley. See Chapter XII (pp. 611, 627 f.).

MAP V

facing p. 589.



CHAPTER XII

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE THAMES BASIN

THE PRECEDING Chapter has been occupied with the three questions of the original seats of the Teutonic peoples who occupied England, the general direction of the migrations with the intermediate halting places which history and archaeology seem to indicate, and the routes by which the new comers may have reached our shores. The subject now before us is that of the settlements themselves, involving a study of the actual lines of penetration of the immigrants, the reasons why they chose their places of occupation, and the groups into which these localities seem naturally to fall.

Archaeological discoveries confirm what would be generally surmised, that the invaders coming across the sea in ships entered the land by the natural openings formed by estuaries, and pushed their way up the rivers as far as was practicable. To what extent this last was possible depends on the one hand on the draught of the vessels, on the other upon the width of the streams. The former can be judged from surviving specimens of the barques themselves or of others that must have been like them, and about the latter it can be safely said that the streams offered more accommodation in the migration epoch than is the case to-day. This is a matter within the province of the scientific geographer, who would have much to say about the reasons for this change and about the extent to which it has operated in different parts. There is no question that some rivers formerly navigable from the sea upwards are so no longer. The Cinque Ports offer instances of the silting up

of once open channels, and corresponding changes on the Sussex coast are noticed later on (p. 670 f.). In the Dee at Chester the position of old Roman mooring rings shows that large galleys must in ancient times have floated in places which now can only be reached by small boats. It must be sufficient here to signalize the general fact of the change without attempting any estimate in detail.

In the case of the ships we are fortunate in possessing specimens, if not from the actual date of the Teutonic migrations, yet from periods before and after that time and sufficiently near it to furnish valuable data. There is the Nydam boat now at Kiel that dates from about IV, and there is more than one Viking ship of IX or X of which the Gogstad example at Christiania may be taken as typical. These two vessels agree in general dimensions and build, being between 70 and 80 ft. long, clinker-built with iron bolts.[1] This makes it likely that boats of the intermediate period would not be very different. Our own country has produced an interesting relic in the shape of the remains of a clinker-built boat with iron bolts, 48 ft. long, 10 ft. wide and about 4 ft. high, that came to light in 1862 in a tumulus on Snape Common near Aldeburgh, Suffolk.[2] The tumulus, 60 to 70 ft. in diameter, was of the Bronze Age for an urn of that period was found in it, but there was also within the mound an urn of 'Anglian' type containing calcined bones, and similar cinerary urns came to light in the immediate vicinity, so that intrusive Anglian cremated burials in an older Bronze Age tumulus were clearly indicated. As evidence for the date of the boat we have the following. About the middle of it was some human hair but

[1] There is a full account of early ships with abundant references to ancient writers and records of discoveries in a long article on 'Prehistoric Naval Architecture of the North of Europe,' by George H. Boehmer in the volume for 1891 of the *Reports* of the U.S. National Museum under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1892.

[2] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2 Ser., II, 177.

no bones, and close to this was a portion of a tear- or lobed-glass goblet of the form already illustrated, Pll. CXXIII, CXXIV (p. 484), and also a gold finger ring adorned with filigree work and set with a late Roman engraved gem. The question of course is whether the boat is contemporary with the Anglian cinerary urns or represents a second intrusion on the original tumulus in the Viking epoch. Viking burials in Bronze Age tumuli are not at all unknown,[1] and boat-burial, indicated by the hair, is quite a Viking institution. Much as one would like to see in the Snape-Common boat one of the actual keels in which the first East Anglian settlers came to land, the probability is that it is of Viking date, for the lobed-glass vessel cannot be earlier than the end of VI or early part of VII. Such a vessel has actually been found in a Viking boat in Norway, no doubt as 'loot.'

The remains of Scandinavian vessels are sufficient however to enable us to form a general idea of the ships of the Saxon sea-rovers, those 'curved pinnaces' of the Saxons, mentioned in the passage quoted from Sidonius Apollinaris (p. 574), a summary representation of which we may see on the sceat coins, Pl. VI, 2, 7, etc. (pp. 85, 110). The equal curves both in plan and elevation of stem and stern here visible form a distinctive feature of the small votive boats in gold from Nors in the Copenhagen Museum of the Later Bronze Age, of the ships of the 'Suiones' described by Tacitus,[2] of the Early Iron Age Nydam vessel, and of the Viking ships as well as of the reproductions of their lines in rows of stones in cemeteries in Sweden or along the Baltic coast,—and in light, easily manœuvred vessels of the kind, perhaps 50 to 70 ft. long, we can picture to ourselves the Saxon and Anglian sea-rovers pushing their way up the frequent inlets of the indented English coast, and nosing out a passage along the inland streams even to the heart of the land.

That these were the lines of penetration, rather than the

[1] S. Müller, *Nordische Altertumskunde*, II, 254. [2] *De Mor. Germ.*, XLIV.

Roman roads, must be taken as the fundamental fact of the geography of the settlements, and this will apply to the earlier passing raids as much as to the organized movements of migration. Mr. Thurlow Leeds, while emphasizing the general principle just enunciated is inclined to think that the earlier raiders used the Roman roads for their swift passage from place to place.[1] But such raiders needed a means of rapid retreat with their booty to their base of operations, and it can never have been safe for them to go far from their boats. The most conspicuous piece of archaeological evidence for an early raid is the Dorchester discovery (p. 557 f.), and this find is riparian. A piece of literary evidence, on the value of which opinions may differ, is to be found in Geoffrey of Monmouth (see p. 755 f.), who presents us with the plausible statement that in the early days of the Teutonic invasion in northern Britain, before the appearance of the semi-mythical King Arthur, the Britons contend against the raiders with varying success 'being often repulsed by them and forced to retreat to the cities' while more often they routed their German assailants 'and compelled them to flee sometimes into the woods, sometimes to their ships.' This last touch has at any rate verisimilitude, and we are inclined to see in it a bit of genuine tradition. With ships therefore the sea-rovers came and went on their raids, and in ships they brought their families and goods when the era of settlement succeeded to that of transient inroads.

Of the waterways into the interior of Britain on its eastern side the most important were the Thames, the rivers discharging into the Wash, and the Trent. By the first, as will be made tolerably clear in the sequel, the people who became afterwards the West Saxons forced their way into the very heart of the island, while the powerful Mercian kingdom, impinging on West Saxon territory from the side of the north, was founded by immigrants whose keels had breasted the

[1] *Archaeology of the Settlements*, p. 17.

current of the Trent. The Great Ouse, the Cam, the Nene, the Welland, led the Mid-Anglian settlers to their inland seats in Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, Northants, and the eastern Midlands generally. The Yorkshire Ouse gave access to York near which there is evidence of early settlements, but with regard to the occupation of Northumbria in general there rules great obscurity. Besides these districts opened up by the larger rivers there were others that may be described as maritime, where the rivers are comparatively small and do not admit of penetration far inland. Eastern Suffolk, Essex, Kent, Sussex are such districts, and here most of the early settlements are near the sea. East Anglia in one part, the north-western portion of Suffolk, is penetrated by tributaries of the chief rivers debouching on the Wash, and so far it belongs to this great river system, but in the main it forms quite a distinct province. Essex was a kingdom by itself, so was Kent, and so also Sussex, and apparently Wight. Any historical questions that relate to the occupation of these districts concern the districts alone and each stands pretty much on its own footing.

Far other is the case with the West Saxon settlement and with those of the west and east Midlands north of the Thames Valley, for the time and manner of the first cannot be fixed without opening up certain questions of very wide-reaching interest, and the two other regions cannot be considered independently of the West Saxon district, for the three 'spheres of influence' impinged upon each other and interpenetrated in a rather complicated fashion. These considerations have influenced the order in which the various settlements are dealt with in these chapters. It would be natural to begin with Kent because the literary authorities seem in agreement that the Kentish kingdom was the one first established, but the comparative isolation of Kent makes its early history far less important than that of Wessex which affected to a much greater extent the country at large. Moreover, apart from

the dates given by the literary authorities which at the best are not very trustworthy, the archaeological evidence for priority in occupation would not be in favour of Kent as against other parts of the country. It is proposed accordingly to leave on one side for the moment the self-contained kingdoms of the south coast, Kent, Sussex, and the Isle of Wight with the opposite shore of Hampshire, and take up at the outset the more complicated but more important question of the Teutonic settlement of the basin of the Thames (Map v).

For the present purpose we may include under this term Essex as well as the north-western riparian region of Kent. Kent properly speaking does not now come into the story, but we have to take account of Essex. Geologically speaking it belongs to the Thames system, for the clay that overlies the chalk throughout the river basin covers Essex as well as a good deal of the coastal region of East Anglia; its rivers too may without doing violence to nature be included in the Thames basin, for with the exception of the upper waters of one tributary of the Cam they all run towards the Thames or what may be regarded in a wide sense as its estuary, and in history also Essex is inseparably connected with the Thames in Saxon times through its nominal possession of London.

The East Saxons were masters of a compact little kingdom that included the two great Roman centres we know as London and Colchester. Bede distinctly defines the position of the people.[1] They are 'divided from Kent by the river Thames, and border on the eastern sea. Their metropolis is the city of London, which is situated on the bank of the aforesaid river, and is the mart of many nations resorting to it by sea and land.' Bede uses the present tense and what he says about London applies in the strict sense to his own day, the early part of VIII, but he is mentioning the city in connection with events of the beginning of VII, and it is clear from his manner of writing that he meant his words to apply, mutatis

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 3.

mutandis, to the condition of affairs at the earlier date. The activity at this period of the London mint as an evidence of commercial life has been already referred to (pp. 80, 110) and the period indicated has been fixed at about the second half of VII.

Of the settlement and early history of the East Saxons little or nothing has been recorded, and the first historical statement about them is the one just quoted from Bede. He goes on to say that at the opening of VII they were ruled by Sæbert, nephew of Æthelberht of Kent, who as Bretwalda was his overlord. Henry of Huntingdon tells us[1] that the kingdom was founded by the grandfather of Sæbert, Erchenwin, called in the genealogies appended to Florence of Worcester Æscwin, and this would make its origin not earlier than the second quarter of VI. It is not likely however that this accessible region remained unoccupied by Teutonic settlers for nearly a century after the invasion of Kent. The indented Essex coast opposite to continental regions where the Saxon sea-rovers had long been in evidence invited attack, and there is no reason to suppose that the Roman forts of the 'Saxon Shore' in Essex would continue to form an effective barrier against inroads any longer than was the case with the similar strongholds in Kent.[2] Hence we may fairly presuppose an early occupation by the East Saxons of the lands between Colchester and London. William of Malmesbury states,[3] we do not know on what authority, that the kingdom of the East Saxons was nearly coeval with that of the East Angles, and the later may be dated from evidence contained in a story in Procopius referring to events of about 540 A.D.[4] If at that time, that is about 540, there existed as the story seems to indicate a flourishing East Anglian kingdom, this kingdom

[1] Bk. II, ad Ann. 514; Rolls Series, No. 74, p. 49.

[2] The forts of the Saxon Shore are shown on the map, Vol. I, fig. 5, p. 52.

[3] *Gesta Regum*, i, 6. [4] *De Bello Gothico*, iv, 20. See (p. 764).

must have been founded a good while before, no doubt within V, and this carries with it by implication a corresponding date for the East Saxon settlement.

As regards the limits of the kingdom, with London under their control the East Saxons would necessarily be in possession of a good part of what is now Middlesex. How far towards the north and west their territory stretched is uncertain, but the forest country provided there a natural boundary. In X if not before the Essex diocese administered from London included the eastern parts of what is now Hertfordshire, and this may be taken as evidence that the early kingdom had the same westward limits of extension. The diocese and almost certainly the early kingdom were bounded to the north-east by the Stour, which still divides Essex from East Anglia. It is a noteworthy fact that the genealogy of the East Saxon royal house preserved in Henry of Huntingdon[1] went back to a mythical ancestor named Saxnat or Seaxneat, a name that occurs in a document connected with the 'old' or continental Saxons as that of a deity 'Saxnot,' and this suggests that the ethnic name of the whole Saxon people may mean the 'children of Saxnot,' and not the 'men of the seax,' or sword-knife, as is usually believed. Professor Chadwick has called special attention to the fact that the only other Saxon royal genealogy preserved to us, that of the West Saxons, ascends to Odin through practically the same names as those of the ancestors of the Anglian house of Bernicia, and he uses this in favour of his contention that in Britain at any rate there was no real difference between Saxon and Angle. The East Saxon genealogy however, as Professor Chadwick admits, points strongly in the other direction, and this suggests the inquiry as to whether archaeological facts relating to Essex throw any light upon this question.

The case of Essex in its relation to the neighbouring Anglian districts of Cambridgeshire and East Anglia supplies

[1] l. c.

as strong archaeological evidence as is anywhere available for a specific difference between Saxon and Angle. A summary notice of the Essex cemeteries and their outcome will presently be given, but the evidence they offer on this point may here be briefly summarized.

Essex marches on the north with Cambridgeshire and Suffolk, the division in the latter case being the very definite one of the Stour. At the eastern end of the boundary line the important Suffolk cemetery at Ipswich lies only ten miles north of the frontier, at the western end the great Cambridgeshire cemeteries of Little Wilbraham and Barrington are only a dozen miles from the largest known and most northerly Essex cemetery at Saffron Walden, while that at Linton Heath is quite close to the Essex border. That a certain overflow from one side to the other was possible we know from the discovery of two late cruciform fibulae that are almost counterparts, the one appearing at Chesterford, Essex, the other at Barrington, Cambs, Pl. XLV, 7 and 5 (p. 269), but as a fact, apart from this accident, there is scarcely any resemblance between the grave goods of the two districts.

(1) Both in East Anglia and in Cambridgeshire cremation was in use side by side with inhumation. At Little Wilbraham the Hon. R. C. Neville reported more than a hundred urns nearly all containing human bones,[1] and there was cremation at Barrington if not at Linton Heath, and certainly on the site of Girton by Cambridge, where the rite seems to have preponderated. Cremation is also fully represented on Suffolk sites. There has been a doubt as to the date of some of the cremation burials at Ipswich, see Pl. CXXXVIII, 5 (p. 505), and the urn figured on that Plate is not of the specific Anglian type, but the cemetery produced at least one urn with fluted projections pressed out that contained human bones; it is in the Layard room at the Christchurch Museum, Ipswich. On the other side of the border in Essex no case of cremation is authenti-

[1] *Saxon Obsequies*, p. 11.

cated, though we may see a reminiscence of the rite in the little urn only 2¾ in. high, from Kelvedon, Essex, Pl. xi, 4 (p. 117), which was found with a stone covering it—an arrangement known in cremation cemeteries (p. 147). A good urn of Anglian type was found at Heybridge near Maldon, Essex, strikingly similar in height, 5¾ in., and shape and ornament to an urn found with a non-cremation burial at Stapenhill, Staffordshire, figured Pl. cxxxiv, 8 (p. 499), but there is no evidence that the Essex urn was cinerary.

(ii) The 'long' or cruciform brooch swarms in some of the Cambridgeshire cemeteries, such as Little Wilbraham, and occurs all over the East Anglian area though, curiously enough the form was not represented in the Ipswich cemetery. Specimens were however found elsewhere near that town. The only 'long' brooches that have been signalized from Essex are the stray Chesterford specimen and a couple from Feering in the Colchester Museum. One found in Tower Street, London, is a Thames-side not an Essex piece (p. 611).

(iii) More striking is the case of the square headed brooch, which is abundant at Ipswich in both its plainer and its more ornate form and is quite common too in Cambridgeshire. This has not come to light in Essex.

(iv) Sleeve clasps, which again like the 'long' brooches are strangely absent from the Ipswich finds, are specially at home in East Anglia and in Cambridgeshire, Pll. lxxviii, 5, 6; lxxix, 1, 2 (p. 365), but have made no appearance in Essex.

(v) Both Essex and Suffolk exhibit many examples of inlaid work of the Kentish type, but this does not imply any special relation between the two save that of local contiguity. These Kentish jewels are to be connected with the spread of the political influence of Æthelberht of Kent at the close of VI, which was felt specially strongly in Essex, but as Bede tells us extended up to the Humber.[1]

These archaeological facts, together with the defined local

[1] *Hist. Eccl.* ii, 3.

position of Essex especially in face of East Anglia, and the evidence of genealogy, give to the East Saxon Kingdom a very distinctive place among the Teutonic aggregates, and enable us to affirm that after all the word 'Saxon' does possess its own meaning apart from 'Angle.' What was the bond of union among the East Saxons and in what they differed from the South Saxons and from the inhabitants of Wessex are however questions we have no means of answering. The fact that even about 600 when Æthelberht of Kent was at the height of his power, and later on when on the other side Redwald of East Anglia had succeeded Æthelberht in the Bretwaldaship, the East Saxons remained lords or overlords of London is a testimony to the prestige of the kingdom, though this was not maintained by any marked military prowess.

As a typical Saxon kingdom we might expect Essex to furnish us with a valuable and instructive repertory of grave goods, but in this we are disappointed. The Essex cemeteries are few and on the whole poorly furnished, the richest burial is of a wholly exceptional, one might say accidental, kind, and the most interesting single finds are either of Kentish provenance or of the later, Viking, period. The finds in London will be noticed specially on a coming page (p. 611); the other Essex discoveries may now be briefly summarized.

COLCHESTER. The Museum at Colchester contains many objects found in Saxon graves in the vicinity, but though the same square mile has furnished numerous Roman funereal deposits there seems no clear proof that the Saxons went on using, as at York, the Roman cemeteries (p. 137). A conical umbo, such as Pl. XXIII, 1 (p. 199), and a diminutive axe head may be mentioned.

FEERING-KELVEDON. Near the Roman road that runs between these two places, about half way between Colchester and Chelmsford, there was a large cemetery the exploration of which has not been satisfactorily described. Though

the field in which many interments were discovered about 1888 bore no external marks it had been known in the middle of XVIII as 'Barrow Field' and this seems to indicate the former presence of tumuli.[1] Some beads of the small blown-glass and cylindrical forms which we have seen to be early (p. 445 f.), and arms, buckles, etc., of ordinary types came from inhumation burials at Feering, but the most interesting objects from the cemetery are half a dozen 'applied' brooches of which two only have kept their enriched plates. The ornament here is of the late zoomorphic type and as with the find there was a buckle with garnet inlay on the chape the objects may be placed early in VII.

Shoeburyness. Here, in a locality that has yielded up a goodly store of objects of earlier ages, some bodies were found that were pronounced Saxon. They were arranged in a circle with the feet pointing inwards, a disposition that may be paralleled in Saxon times at Newport Pagnell, Bucks; at Cuddesdon, Oxon, and to some extent in the remarkable plural interment at Stowting, Kent, already noticed (p. 189).

Saffron Walden. The cemeteries above noticed are on the London clay, a subsoil the Teutonic settlers are sometimes credited with avoiding. On the chalk and marls of the northern part of the county we find the most extensive of the Essex cemeteries the name of which has just been given. This Saffron Walden cemetery is one of special interest, and the exploration of it has been well reported by Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith.[2] The site is within the present limits of the town on fairly level ground to the west of High Street and south of Abbey Lane, and measured about 100 ft. by 80 ft. Within this space, in 1830 and again in 1876, some 200 graves were opened, and the arrangement of the bodies has been already figured and noticed in connection with the Anglo-Saxon cemetery in general, Pl. xiv (p. 155). There

[1] *Essex Naturalist*, II, 124.

[2] *An Ancient Cemetery at Saffron Walden*, Colchester, n.d.

was proof that the site had been in use for burials in the pre-Teutonic period but no clear evidence of the practice of cremation either by the earlier people or the Saxons was apparently obtainable. No coffins seem to have been used. The interest of the cemetery resides in the fact that it was apparently a very late one. The bodies, as the illustration, Pl. XIV, showed, were in the main part of the cemetery carefully and regularly disposed after the fashion of the normal pagan burials, but there was a great paucity of arms and of tomb furniture generally, though some of the regular Anglo-Saxon objects, beads of rock crystal, iron keys, knives, etc., made their appearance. There were two notable finds, both of which have been figured on previous plates. The set of 22 bronze rings mostly of a size for bracelets with faceting and other enrichment, Pl. CIX, 3 (p. 457), give no clear indication of date. The objects are most probably Roman, and if this be the case, though the use of them would in itself point to an early date yet it does not force us to it, for Roman paraphernalia may have been discovered and appropriated in any subsequent age. On the other hand the necklet with the pendants, Pl. XVI, 2, is certainly late and of the Viking period (p. 171 f.) yet the body of the lady who wore it was laid in one of the best formed graves entirely in the manner of the earlier burials of the pagan period. This is a most exceptional and indeed unique phenomenon.

BROOMFIELD. By far the most important discovery in this branch of archaeology in Essex is that of a single exceptionally well-appointed grave at Broomfield a little to the north of Chelmsford.[1] It was found accidentally in a gravel pit, and is that of a warrior, with whom were buried objects strikingly resembling in some respects those found in the grave of a Saxon chieftain of note in a barrow in Taplow churchyard, Bucks. Both graves were of large size, that at Broomfield 8 ft. that at Taplow about 12 ft. long, and con-

[1] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XV, 250.

tained in addition to arms remarkable collections of vessels in iron, bronze, glass, wood, horn and clay. While the Taplow barrow had also some beautiful objects of personal adornment, that at Broomfield yielded similar ornaments that had been applied to arms, and in each case the style of work was that specially characteristic of the Kentish area. The sword, of which the wooden sheath was partly preserved, had its hilt apparently adorned with inlaid jewels of gold of which one, a truncated pyramid, may have served to secure the sword knot. It has been shown Pl. CXLVII, 4 (p. 537). There were also a shield boss, a spear head, and a knife. Most of the vessels were contained in a shallow round pan of bronze about 13 in. across with iron handles, and consisted in two fine glass vessels of deep blue colour, Pl. CXXVI, 2 (p. 485), an almost exact duplicate of which was found in 1847 at Cuddesdon in Oxfordshire,[1] and two turned wooden cups with rims of gilt bronze, of a kind represented elsewhere in the south-eastern districts of England. There were also traces of cows' horns, interesting in connection with the magnificent decorated horns found in the Taplow barrow. There were found near the pan two iron-mounted buckets of wood 12 in. in diameter, and there was also an iron cauldron that would have held about a couple of gallons, and besides this another very remarkable and indeed unique vessel, consisting in a hemispherical iron cup mounted on a stem of iron branching into four feet, which brought the total height up to about 11 in., Pl. CX, 2 (p. 459). A vase of grey pottery with impressed zigzag ornament is of Frankish type, and closely resembles similar vases found at Faversham and at Kingston.

Some remarkable features of the find that suggest problems hard of solution still remain to be noticed. There were distinct traces of a coffin in the form of angle irons with rivets and fragments of wood but no signs of bones. Marks of combustion which appeared led the explorers to the con-

[1] Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, p. 11.

clusion that 'the body had been placed in a stout coffin and burnt as it lay on the ground.' Against this supposition are the facts that delicate objects in the grave such as the cups of glass and wood were not injured by fire, and that the process of incineration could only have been carried out as described with an almost prohibitive amount of difficulty (p. 148).

FOREST GATE. Here was found the sumptuously adorned pin head set with garnets that has been figured Pl. CXLVII, 5 (p. 537). This is in the Kentish style and probably imported.

DOVERCOURT, near Harwich, was the place of origin of a radiating fibula of bronze now in the Ashmolean. There are other isolated finds of single objects of interest, but they mostly belong to the Viking period, and will be noticed in a subsequent volume.

The Museum at Chelmsford contains some very curious spears, with long iron shanks but not angons, that may be Anglo-Saxon; they were found at WITHAM.

We have come now to the point where the consideration of the East Saxon Kingdom as a separate entity is merged in questions of wider import, to which we are introduced by the relation of this kingdom to London and through London to the Thames Valley in general.

The name 'East Saxon' carries with it some considerations of moment. The peoples who divided among themselves the land of Britain possessed specific appellations many of which passed later on out of vogue. There was for example the name 'Gewissæ,' that belonged Bede tells us 'of old time' to the West Saxons[1] though he employs it in his history as if it were still understood, a name on the origin and meaning of which something will presently be said. Certain of these appellations were given or adopted after the settlement, for

[1] 'Gens Occidentalium Saxonum; qui antiquitus Geuissæ vocabantur,' *Hist. Eccl.*, iii, 7, cf. iv, 14 (16).

they are derived from Roman place-names. This was the case with the Dorsætas, the dwellers by Durnovaria or Dorchester, and the Magesætas or Magonsætas who took their title from the Roman Magnæ. Others were apparently traditional tribal names of older use, and in connection with these one would like to know what degree of ethnic affinity they may be held to denote. There were the Hwiccas of Worcestershire whose name survives in Wychwood Forest called in a charter of 841 'Hwiccewudu,' and the Gyrwas of the Fenland whose may be the important South-Lincolnshire cemetery at Sleaford. Even the important ethnic designation of the Jutes was replaced at an early date by a territorial name drawn from Kent, since the former is only preserved in Bede and occurs in no other independent authority, and it would be interesting to know whether the settlers in what became Essex and Sussex had special ethnic or tribal designations. In any case the fact that the different branches of the Saxon race were distinguished by local names is significant. This nomenclature seems to indicate London or its neighbourhood as a centre from which the settlements around were named according to their relative positions, West Saxons to the west of it, East Saxons to the north-east, while those in the centre came to be called, though apparently only at a later time, Middle Saxons. The district we know as Surrey would doubtless have been called the South Saxon land had not the name already belonged to the Teutonic settlers on the south coast, the record of whose appearance there at an early date is hereby confirmed. 'South' at any rate is the first part of the name of Surrey in the many forms in which it occurs in the Chronicles and elsewhere. This point may seem a minor one, but as a fact it is practically decisive of two of the most vexed questions in early Anglo-Saxon history, the provenance of the West Saxons, and the position of London in relation to the Teutonic settlement of the country. The former would hardly have been termed 'West Saxons' had

their strength lain in early times in the South as would be the case if they had worked their way up from the Solent; while their passage in some force up the Thames would not have been practicable if London had remained for long a hostile stronghold guarding the water way.

There is no subject within the scope of this volume on which opinions are more widely sundered than that of the history of London during the early times of the Teutonic settlement. Some hold that the city practically ceased for more than a century to exist, while others imagine it always a substantial entity with its own life and influence. 'For a while,' says Professor Haverfield,[1] 'London ceased to be. . . . Nothing had been found to suggest that Roman Britons dwelt in London long after A.D. 400. Nothing Saxon had been found to suggest that the English occupied it till long after A.D. 500. . . . It lay waste a hundred years. Ishmaelite English or even fugitive Britons might have hid amid its ruins and beside its streams. But . . . the site lay empty.' On the other side Sir Laurence Gomme explains the fact that the records of the time are silent about London on the view that it preserved a position of quasi independence apart from the Anglo-Saxon political and social arrangements. It is a plausible argument in his favour that he can point to so many apparently Roman survivals in the institutions of the London of later history,[2] one of which in the sphere of numismatics has been noticed in that connection (p. 80), but it would be going too far to maintain that this independence practically affected the course of the Saxon settlement. He accepts the view of a West Saxon invasion from the south through Hampshire on the ground that the invaders 'did not sail up the Thames, as they did the Severn and the Tyne and the lesser rivers,' but, 'spread inland from the southern coast,

[1] Address before the Classical Association of England, January 1912.

[2] Sir Laurence Gomme, *The Governance of London*, Lond., 1907, *The Making of London*, Oxford, 1912, and *London*, Lond., 1914.

prevented from following up the Thames by the presence of London.'[1]

To this it must be replied that the Teutonic immigrants were far too strong in the south-eastern part of the country to have tolerated a hostile London barring their way into the interior. Had such a barrier been maintained there would have been a shock of opposing forces that would have left some record of itself in the Chronicles. It is a fact, to which Professor Haverfield attaches very little importance, that an entry in the *A.-S. Chronicle* under the year 456-7 gives us the quite credible information that after the action at Crayford, on the borders, Sir Laurence Gomme maintains, of the 'territorium' of the Roman city 'the Britons left Kentland and in muckle awe fled to London burgh,' but we are not told of any beleaguerment or assault, and Sir Laurence Gomme urges that 'Anglo-Saxon history would not have been slow to put on record the destruction of London.'[2] After-facts are nevertheless eloquent. 'The Anglo-Saxons entered London, controlled it, mastered it, but they did not conquer it' writes Sir Laurence,[3] and he pictures Londoners 'living in Roman houses . . . in Roman fashion and . . . governed by Roman organization and institutions,'[4] and apparently keeping up an imposing civic life in matters of constitution as well as of outward monuments up to the time of King Alfred. The principal remains of these monuments he notes 'are pavements discovered in modern times twelve or fifteen feet below the existing level of'—'no less than fifty-six streets.'[5] Surely this momentous fact that mediaeval and modern streets run not on the lines of Roman streets but across the sites of Roman houses should give us pause! It indicates ruin and (probably much later) rebuilding. However attractive, especially to a Londoner born, is the vision we are now asked to contemplate of a great, independent, still Roman, London

[1] *The Making of London*, p. 96. [2] *London*, p. 87.
[3] *Making of London*, p. 96. [4] ibid., p. 89. [5] ibid., p. 82.

of about 500 A.D., a London brought 'through the stress and trouble of conquest, unconquered and undestroyed,' it must be confessed that it is rather a city in the heavens. And apart from this, however the invaders dealt with Londinium itself, they were certainly attracted to the site and formed numerous settlements around it that are identified by their characteristic and early-sounding Saxon names appearing now on every London omnibus—'we find them settling all round London in places which can be recognized by their terminals -ham, -ington, -ey, -end, -wich'[1]—but assuredly all these places could not coexist with a London that was still, as the writer of the page just quoted from seems to regard it, potentially hostile. The open village communities would not have been on their side secure, nor on its side could London, with its territorium parcelled out among these communities, have obtained supplies. The Saxons probably raided and sacked London but afterwards treated it, as Ammianus tells us[2] the Alamanni dealt with Strassburg, Worms, Mainz, and other Romano-Gallic cities, establishing themselves in the suburbs but avoiding the interior of the enceinte, and they certainly would not allow the quasi-independence of the Roman city to affect their own operations and movements. Such quasi-independence would account for the extremely interesting survivals the treatment of which gives to Sir Laurence Gomme's books such a fascinating interest, but the Roman bridge over the Thames would not have opposed any more serious physical obstacle to an ascent of the river than would the equally Roman Pons Aelii at Newcastle to the navigation of the Tyne which Sir Laurence Gomme himself says was free to the Teutons. These bridges, the existence of which over Thames as well as over Tyne may be considered certain, need not have been arched in stone, and passage would be easy when the wooden superstructure was removed.

It follows accordingly that London furnishes no argument

[1] *Making of London*, p. 96. [2] *Hist. Rom.*, xvi, ii, 12.

against the view that the waterway of the Thames carried the forefathers of the West Saxons to their destined seats in the south-western midlands. There are difficulties however in the way of accepting this view owing to the fact that it is opposed to the direct evidence of the *A.-S. Chronicles*. As a fact, the coming of the West Saxons is recorded in certain paragraphs in the *Chronicles* duly provided with proper names and dates, according to which their entry into the land was from the south by Porchester and Southampton Water and occurred soon after the settlement of the South Saxons in power in Sussex. It has however long been recognized that there are special difficulties in accepting these accounts as they stand which do not apply in the case of other similar entries in regard to other bodies of the first immigrants. The same events are ascribed in the same *Chronicles* to two different dates twenty years apart. One of the principal personal names is Celtic and most of the others appear to have been formed from the names of pre-existing places in the region of the supposed descent. The district was in part at any rate in the occupation of the Jutes who presumably settled there at a date not far removed from that of their conquest of Kent. It is known of course that the West Saxons ultimately made themselves masters of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight, though the name of the Jutes still clung in the time of Bede to a part of the mainland opposite the Isle, and when they were established there with their capital at Winchester it must have seemed natural to assume that their forefathers had entered the country through the open doors of Portsmouth Harbour and Southampton Water. It is of course possible, as we shall presently see, that, V, as was the case with the later Danish inroads, piratical descents on a small scale preceded concerted operations of invasion, and there may have existed a genuine West Saxon tradition of some early raids on the southern coast on which the accounts in the *Chronicles* came to be built up. The position of the Harnham Hill

cemetery, near Salisbury, upon the Hampshire Avon which can be ascended from the sea at Christchurch Haven, is not to be lost sight of (p. 619 f.). Such in brief outline is the evidence against the Chroniclers' account of the West Saxon settlement.

An attempt must now be made to reconstruct the early history of the West Saxons on the hypothesis already laid before the reader. It may be premised that the archaeological evidence available is all in favour of this hypothesis, but for the sake of clearness it will be best to treat the matter first from the historical standpoint, and to embrace in the survey the settlement of the Thames basin as a whole.

The view that the occupation of south-eastern and northern Britain was preceded by numerous raids of a passing kind, in which were concerned comparatively small bodies of warriors, agrees with the general sketch already given in Chapter XI of the doings of the northern sea-rovers, and seems to be now accepted by modern British historians. The West Saxons or their forefathers may in this way have raided up the country from Southampton Water or Poole Harbour or Christchurch Haven, but their keels also visited the Thames, and there can be little doubt that their ultimate settlement of Wessex was by way of the Thames Valley. At how early a date it would be possible for a few well-equipped keels to force a passage past Londinium it is hard to say, but we must always remember that London Bridge would not be arched in stone. At a much later date the Vikings pressed up all the rivers of north-western Europe amidst a hostile population, and raided far and wide without any thought of permanent settlement, and it may have been easier than we imagine, even in a Britain nominally under Roman rule, for the dreaded Saxon pirates to ascend into the interior of the land and withdraw again in safety. The contemporary account of the doings in Britain of Germans of Auxerre already referred to (p. 578) is

from this point of view of the first importance. At what time we should date the beginning of a serious settlement in force we cannot say, but there is a significant statement in William of Malmesbury[1] according to which the kingdom of the West Saxons was formed later than that of their kinsfolk in Essex.

Professor Oman[2] has suggested that the name 'Gewissæ,' which belonged at one time to the West Saxons, was not a traditional tribal appellation but had a collective sense to be inferred from the prefix 'ge,' and may have merely meant 'allies' or 'confederates.' Such a name may have been only adopted when separate units, composed it might be of different tribal elements, coalesced into one body, and this he surmises may have happened about the middle of VI, the time of Ceawlin the first king of the West Saxons who emerges into the light of history. Prior to this consolidation of the West Saxon kingdom Saxon settlements of the 'Gewissæ' may have been formed at different points all along the course of the Thames and up its chief tributaries, and even in the earlier period of raids, before the Teutons had brought over their womenkind and bent themselves to settlement, they may have left traces of themselves in the form of their bones their arms or their possessions. Only on this supposition can we explain the appearance here and there in the Thames Valley of objects of early character that must date long before the consolidation just spoken of.

It has been decided accordingly to regard the Thames Valley, Map v (p. 589), as one main district that may for the sake of clearness be called that of the 'Gewissæ.' It must be remembered that Kent and Essex and London are all washed by the waters of the Thames and deposits now found near the river bank in these regions may have belonged to the Gewissæ of the future just as well as to the Jutes and

[1] *Gesta Regum*, i, ch. 5 and 6, ad init.

[2] *England Before the Norman Conquest*, p. 227 f.

East Saxons of the riparian provinces. Northfleet near Gravesend in Kent is a case in point; though the Watling Street runs not far inland and so makes it accessible from the interior part of the county, yet it is just a spot where a keel or two of Saxon sea-rovers may have come to shore and formed a small settlement. Such metics the Jutes may have readily tolerated as the Romans of old welcomed strangers into their nascent commonwealth. At Northfleet and its neighbourhood urns of a more 'Anglian' type than those found generally in Kent have been discovered, and in some which from their form might well be Teutonic there are cremated bones. Northfleet together with Higham, also a very riparian site, and Horton Kirby easily accessible up the Darent, furnished to Mr. Thurlow Leeds's list of saucer and applied brooches[1] no fewer than seven examples while the whole of the rest of Kent only produced the same number, and two of those from Horton Kirby reproduce almost exactly, apart from the outer band of ornament, one found in the South Saxon cemetery at High Down, see Pll. LVII, 5; CLVI, 1 (pp. 313, 623). Hence there is very good ground for calling these North Kent finds rather Saxon than Jutish.

Two very interesting early objects have been found in LONDON. One came to light in West Smithfield near the river Fleet and just outside the Roman walls, and the other in Tower Street within the enceinte. In neither case was the find connected with a sepulchre. The first object is a bronze buckle of peculiar form with ornamentation of early type shown already, Pl. CLI, 1 (p. 557). The second piece is an early cruciform fibula that Mr. Reginald Smith suggests may have been lost by some sea-rover of V or early VI as he passed London on his course up the river.[2] We are quite justified in placing these objects to the credit of the Thames-farers who are known later on as Gewissæ and West Saxons, rather than to that of the territorial magnates of the place, the East Saxons.

[1] *Archaeologia*, LXIII, 197. [2] *Vict. Hist.*, London, I, 149.

The above suggestions may appear to extend the sphere of influence of the West Saxons beyond their proper boundaries, and to encroach on archaeological territory that already possesses rightful owners, but what is advanced here is quite in accordance with the views of present day scholars. However it may be with the parts east of Greenwich, when we pass London and advance towards the west we are on ground that at any rate to the south of the river may be claimed with assurance for the Gewissæ. A view has already been expressed of the provenance and earliest history of this famous people, and some attention must now be paid to the subject of their settlements and their doings after they begin to emerge into the light of history. We have seen reason to reject in its existing form the accounts in the *A.-S. Chronicle* of the coming of the West Saxons, whom that authority introduces into the country across Hampshire from the south. The *Chronicle* gives us other important statements touching the West Saxons at a period when their kingdom was consolidated about the middle of VI, and some of these are of great historical value while one at least involves considerable difficulty in its interpretation.

In the year 568 the *Chronicle* tells us that Ceawlin the West Saxon king fought a battle at 'Wibbandun' against Æthelberht of Kent 'and drove him into Kent.' The battle was therefore fought certainly on the south side of the river and probably in Surrey, and the result of it seems to have been the fixing of the boundaries between the two kingdoms on the line of the still existing frontier between Surrey and Kent which though quite an artificial one, has always divided the two dioceses of Winchester and Rochester. South of the Thames therefore, from the end of VI onwards, West Saxon land stretched from Surrey to as far west as the Teutonic settlements as a whole extended, and even before Ceawlin's time Surrey, or at any rate the riparian tracts of it, may be reckoned as in the occupation of Gewissæ. South of the

Thames no other people comes into effective competition with the West Saxons, and from the point of view of archaeology as well as in other connections Berkshire, Wilts, Somerset, and the regions further to the south and west are their undisputed domain.

As regards the north of the river the case is somewhat different. The general view here taken is that the fact of Dorchester-on-Thames becoming the first seat of the West Saxon bishopric established in 634 is conclusive proof that the main strength of the people was on this side of the valley, and it was not till a later period that the pressure of their Mercian rivals forced the West Saxons to concentrate their strength around their more famous capital and later bishop's seat at Winchester. Oxfordshire Mr. Reginald Smith takes to be 'certainly one of the principal seats of the West Saxons,'[1] and he holds that Worcestershire and part of Warwickshire must be regarded as West Saxon until the middle of VII, the time of Mercian aggression. We may safely assert the same of Gloucestershire after the great victory of Ceawlin at Deorham near Bath in 577, on which a word will be said later on. It is true that the Teutonic settlers of Gloucestershire and Worcestershire had their own tribal appellation of Hwiccas, but they evidently belonged to the confederacy of the Gewissæ and we may reckon their domain as at any rate in the West Saxon zone till the Mercian movement south after the middle of VII.

Dr. Beddoe in his *Races of Britain*, p. 255, writes as follows from the racial point of view:—'In Oxfordshire, at least in the central part, the West Saxon element is very strong; and hence, extending up the valley of the Thames, it affects a great part of the Cotswolds, the hill country of Gloucestershire, and even the Severn valley, as far as to the Severn.' Of East Worcestershire he writes:—'Its dialect is still Saxon rather than Anglian, still of the southern type,

[1] *Victoria History*, Worcestershire, I, 225.

though it was early transferred from the sovereignty of Wessex to that of Mercia.'

More difficulty is presented by that part of the Thames Valley which lies north of the stream, from the borders of Essex westwards to the junction with it of the Thame near Dorchester. To understand the difficulty we must try to realize the geography of the headquarters of the West Saxon power in the period now under notice. Ceawlin's predecessor and Ceawlin himself with his brother are represented in the *Chronicle* as striking successive blows in various directions in campaigns which one would imagine involve the supposition of some centre of power from which the movements would proceed. Thus in 552 we read of a successful action against Old Sarum in southern Wiltshire, in 556 of a campaign ending in a fight at 'Beranbyrig' which used to be located at Banbury, but is now identified with Barbury Rings near Marlborough. In 568 there is the movement against Æthelberht of Kent, in 577 the brilliant campaign in the west which has been already noticed. A few years before the last named, in 571, there is an expedition towards the north-east, the direction of Bedfordshire, in connection with which there is a very puzzling entry in the *Chronicle*. With regard to the district indicated, the document of VII called the Tribal Hidage is evidence that a people called the 'Cilternsætas' were then in occupation of the district where their name still survives in that of the 'Chiltern' Hills and Hundreds. In this direction the West Saxons moved in 571, and their opponents the *Chronicle* says were the 'Brito-Welsh,' whom they defeated at 'Bedcanforda' (Bedford), taking from them four towns, Lygeanburh, and Æglesburh, Bænesingtun, and Egonesham. The three last places are always interpreted as Aylesbury, Bensington near Dorchester-on-Thames, and Eynsham on the river a few miles above Oxford, while there is a place-name Lenborough a little south of Buckingham. There are obvious difficulties in the way of accepting this as

it stands. Why should these Saxon-sounding places be 'tunas' of the Britons? It is true Professor Chadwick[1] thinks that a Saxon name for a place like Eynsham does not necessarily preclude a British origin, but the difficulty is rather with Bensington. If the Britons were in force in the district looked down upon by the Wittenham Tumps their stronghold would surely be the Roman Dorchester rather than a British predecessor of the neighbouring Benson. It is hard again to see what effect a victory far to the north-east at Bedford could have on the fortunes of a Thames-side Oxfordshire town like Eynsham, which would be cut off from any Bedfordshire Britons by the Teutonic Cilternsætas. Could Ceawlin have left so long in hostile possession ground that would seem the natural centre of his extensive military operations?

Leaving for the moment this difficulty about Eynsham and Bensington, we may see reason for adopting the suggestion of Professor Oman[2] that the *A.-S. Chronicle* is wrong in making the opponents of the West Saxons in 571 Britons. He argues with much force that the expedition to the north-east of the Thames Valley should be taken in connection with that of a few years before against Kent, and that it was intended to assert the power of Wessex against rival Teutonic aggregates in that region just as it had been asserted in 568 toward the south-west.

If this be the case, we may be certain that these rivals were of the Anglian stock. It must be borne in mind that Bedford, though at no great distance from the Thames Valley is on quite another river system. While the Thame which runs southward past Aylesbury discharges into the Thames, the Ousel, which reaches nearly to Aylesbury from the north, and the Ouse with its other tributaries belong to the river system that has its outlet in the Wash. These waterways guided the movements and the settlements of the invaders,

[1] *Enc. Brit.*, 11th ed., ix, 592.

[2] *England Before the Norman Conquest*, p. 230.

and just as the Mercian Angles made their way up the course of the Trent till they met and pushed southwards the Gewissæ, so the Middle Angles found their way up the Ouse, the Nene and the other streams that converge on the Wash and by their advance checked all extension of the West Saxon power to the north-east of the Thames basin. It follows from this that we may look for West Saxon remains on the northern side of the Thames Valley as well as to the south, but not beyond the watershed which divides the streams discharging towards the south from the river systems draining into the Wash or the Humber.

The direction of this watershed does not run evenly east and west all across the country. The upper waters of the Roding of Essex, the Lea, the Hertfordshire Colne, the Thame, come down from about the same parallel of latitude and correspond to those of the Great Ouse and its affluents including the Cam, on the northern side of the line. With the Cherwell we are carried higher up the map and this corresponds in its upper waters with the Nene, the course of which lies to the north-west of that of the Ouse. West of the Cherwell the Evenlode, the Windrush, the Leach, the Coln, are streams of less importance but capable of affording access to the interior of Oxfordshire, a central seat of the early West Saxon power, as well as to part of Gloucestershire. When we follow the Cherwell to the upper part of its course we are close to another river system, that of the Warwickshire Avon draining to the south-west into the Severn, and we find the upper waters of the Avon in the same sort of correspondence with those of the Welland, the third and westernmost of the three rivers that discharge from the south-west into the Wash. At the same time the Avon valley is separated by a watershed to the north from the river system of the Trent. The Avon clearly belongs to the West Saxon sphere of influence. Mr. Thurlow Leeds remarks[1] that 'in the three counties of

[1] *The Archaeology*, etc., p. 62.

Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire a line of cemeteries exists along the line of the Avon valley which have yielded objects typically Saxon, as compared with the Anglian culture to the north,' and he quotes appositely a suggestion made by a writer in the *Transactions* of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society for 1896-7 about certain further operations in the West Saxon campaign in the West that began in 577 A.D. The *Chronicle* tells us that in 584 'Ceawlin and Cutha fought against the Britons at the place which is named Fethanleag.' The writer just referred to, the Rev. C. S. Taylor, identified this place with a locality near Stratford-on-Avon called Fachanleage in a charter of 966. 'The archaeological material,' Mr. Leeds goes on, 'corroborates this view in a very marked degree, and it may be concluded that the battle represents a campaign as the result of which the Saxons successfully occupied the Avon valley. From a point in the neighbourhood of Warwick a small group of finds of West Saxon character extends into Oxfordshire and down the Cherwell valley until a junction is formed with the large settlements in the Thames Valley. But a sharp line has to be drawn between these and those on tributaries of the Nene on the other side of the Northamptonshire watershed. This physical feature undoubtedly constituted the boundary between the West Saxons and their neighbours the so-called Middle Angles.'

It will be noted that a frontier has now been constituted starting with the Essex Stour and crossing the country in a wavy line towards the west so as to mark off the Anglian and the Saxon spheres of influence. When we follow this westwards to the parts where the basins of the Avon and of the Trent are contiguous we are in a region where the frontier was later on obliterated by the advance southwards of the Anglian Mercians, who drove the West Saxons, or at any rate shifted the centre of the West Saxon power, to the southern side of the Thames Valley. This political change was worked

out by about 630 in consequence of the victory over the West Saxons of the famous Mercian hero Penda, but it is not easy to say what practical effect such an event would have on culture forms. The boundaries of the kingdoms of the Heptarchy were often changing, and the vague overlordship of the Bretwalda passed from one powerful monarch to another, but this need not have implied either actual shiftings of population or the alteration of the conditions of production in arms or jewels. It is probable that the fabrication of the ordinary apparatus of life in a locality was but little affected by its transference from the rule of its native lord to a foreign conqueror. The common people with their needs their ways and their tastes would remain the same. A change of fashion would perhaps be felt in the upper stratum of society, and an outland character might appear in objects of the rarer and more costly kind. If the spread of a taste for garnet inlays in the Kentish style may reasonably be ascribed to the extension of the power and prestige of Æthelberht when he became Bretwalda at the close of VI, so too Mercian fashions may be held to explain some of the artistic phenomena of the middle of VII in those regions north of the Thames that had passed then from West Saxon to Anglian sway. On this however a word is said subsequently (p. 775).

To the south of the Thames Valley the West Saxons, at any rate from London westwards, had no rivals, and the Kennet took them into Berkshire and North Wilts where remains of their art have been found. Their position in South Wilts, Hampshire, and those eastern parts of Dorset where archaeological evidence of their presence has been found, is not so easy to understand. When Winchester became the seat of the bishopric of the West Saxons and grew to be their effective capital, Hampshire was the centre of their power, but this did not happen till the days of the pagan cemetery with its tomb furniture were over, and as a fact hardly any archaeological discoveries of the pagan period have

been made in the county, except in the south-eastern corner where the art appears to be Jutish rather than West Saxon. These finds in the Meon district will be noticed later on (p. 744 f.). At WINCHESTER itself a few Saxon arms have been found and other relics at Micheldever a little to the north of it,[1] and near the Wiltshire border there are finds recorded at Broughton Hill and at Nether Wallop, objects from which are in the Museum at Salisbury. These belong however rather to the Wiltshire region (p. 653 f.). Dorset, in spite of a perverted use of the term 'Wessex' in connection with the novels of a distinguished writer, was never a West Saxon stronghold, and almost the only finds of the pagan period within its bounds are some made on its extreme eastern borders by General Pitt Rivers. The one important West Saxon cemetery of all the region to the south of Devizes is that at HARNHAM HILL by Salisbury, and Harnham Hill is from the present point of view a puzzle. It is on the whole a late cemetery but it produced some very early objects such as the fibula shown Fig. 20 and a bronze lion's head something like Pl. IX, 3 (p. 103). These however are probably both Romano-British survivals, and like the bronze bangles at Saffron Walden may have been annexed at any time. Signs of lateness in the cemetery, the site of which has been noticed (p. 144) are the numerous unfurnished graves, 26 out of the 64 reported on, which with the almost invariable eastward position of the feet may suggest the influence of Christianity; the absence of arms, the regular arrangement of the graves, and the number of child burials—there were 14 such skeletons—implying a population in peaceful possession of the locality. Mr. Leeds[2] thinks that the objects found would agree with a date of foundation for the

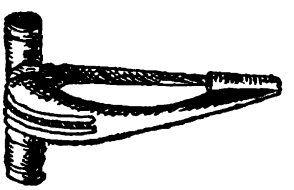


FIG. 20.—Fibula, Harnham Hill.

[1] *Victoria History*, Hants, I, 391. [2] *The Archaeology*, etc., p. 52.

cemetery after the successful attack on Old Sarum in 556. This hardly agrees however with his dating of saucer brooches in his paper on the subject in *Archaeologia*, LXIII, 164 f. Two of these brooches were found at Harnham Hill ornamented with patterns he regards there as early. The brooches are figured *Archaeologia*, XXXV, pl. XII, 9, 11, and resemble those on our Pll. LVII, 6; LVIII, 2 (p. 315), respectively. These saucer brooches may be taken in connection with a pair of small brooches of the long form found in grave 13 at Harnham Hill on a child's skeleton and shown in outline Fig. 21, 1.

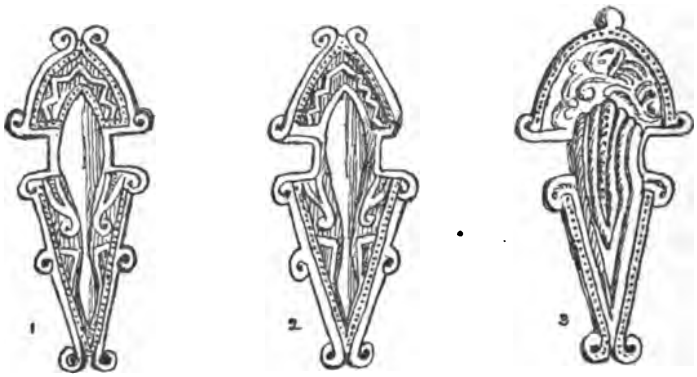


FIG. 21.—Three Bronze Fibulae.

It is there followed by two others, one of which, No. 2, is its exact counterpart, while the other, No. 3, is strikingly similar. Now No. 2 was found at Chessell Down in the Isle of Wight and No. 3 at Bifrons, Pl. XXXV, 7 (p. 245). The Chessell Down graves are early and Bifrons is in part at any rate a decidedly early cemetery, though in the case of No. 3, one of a pair, there is no record of the objects with which it was found. The fibula by itself would be placed rather in the first half of VI than in the second. This indication of date is not the only point of interest about this little brooch for it distinctly suggests a connection with the Jutish civilization of the Isle of Wight and of Kent, and makes us return to the account in the *Chronicle* of the West Saxon advance from the south and

bethink ourselves of the easy access from the sea afforded by the Hampshire Avon which flows by the Harnham site. We are here of course in the domain of conjecture and it is impossible to spend time in the discussion of probabilities. The alternative theories about Harnham Hill, (1) that it was founded from the Thames Valley side in connection with the extension south of West Saxon power about the middle of VI, (2) that it is a monumental proof that part at any rate of the West Saxons came up from the English Channel, are worth stating clearly in view of the possibilities of further discoveries of West Saxon antiquities in the hitherto barren region south of Salisbury Plain.

There may now be attempted in a few words a general survey of the antiquities of this whole district of the Thames and Avon basins which has been provisionally regarded as the West Saxon sphere of influence. It would be of course a great mistake to push to the limits of pedantry this general theory of an advance up the rivers, and of boundaries formed by watersheds. Granted that the theory is a sound one, we must allow that, after the invaders had ascended the streams to a reasonable height from the opposite directions, there must have remained a good deal of ground open to be traversed overland that would fall under the power of whichever people was most numerous or active, without there being any count taken of watersheds. Thus in parts of Bedfordshire, Bucks, Northants, Warwickshire, there is debatable land on each side of the natural boundaries, and a certain mixture of styles has led Mr. Leeds to make this a sort of joint Anglo-Saxon district, and to hazard the hypothesis that in this region an earlier Saxon occupation was followed later on by a more effective one on the part of the Angles. It seems better always to bear in mind the fundamental fact that the difference between Saxon and Anglian grave goods is by no means an absolute one and that certain classes of objects and certain ornamental styles are common to both peoples;

while at the same time we maintain the general theory of the settlements that, so far as the Midlands are concerned, the Saxons came in by way of the Thames and its affluents and by the Warwickshire (and perhaps the Hampshire Avon), while the Angles entered the country up the rivers debouching in the Wash and the Humber.

One striking point of similarity between Anglian and Saxon inventories is furnished by the saucer and applied brooch, which is quite at home in Anglian Cambridgeshire and also in Northants and is largely represented at Kempston, Beds. It has till lately been regarded as a characteristic product of the West Saxon region where it is found with great frequency, and its occurrence at Kempston has probably had a good deal to do with the reluctance that has been felt to recognize Kempston as an Anglian settlement.[1] Historical likelihood however is immensely in favour of its having been founded by people who had ascended the Ouse, which even now flows by it in a stream that would carry a sea rovers' squadron. The vale of Aylesbury watered by the Thame is West Saxon in population[2] and the finds agree with this. The Bucks girdle plate, Pl. CLV, 1 (p. 563), exhibits the same motive of ornament, the recumbent beast, as south country pieces from Croydon, Surrey, Pl. XCIX, 4 (p. 419), Alfriston, Sussex, Pl. CLIV, 1 (p. 561), and Sarre, Kent, Pl. XLIX, 1 (p. 281) and in itself suggests an early date, though on the contrary the large saucer brooch from Ashendon, Bucks, Pl. LVIII, 1 (p. 315), is decidedly late. There is nothing Anglian in the tomb furniture of this region, but across the divide in Bedfordshire the case is different. At Kempston cinerary urns were proof of cremation, and this rite is frequent further north in Cambridgeshire, but not to the south. It is true that cremation is represented freely among the Thames Valley

[1] 'The whole collection from Kempston has a decidedly Saxon appearance,' *Victoria History*, Beds, I, 181.

[2] John Beddoe, *The Races of Britain*, Lond., 1885, p. 255.

CLVI

facing p. 623

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS



burials but as we shall see presently it decreases in frequency as the river is ascended and is very slightly represented in the lateral valleys that were colonized from the main one. It is not likely that West Saxon settlers would have carried the rite with them so far from the Thames as Bedford and at the same time have left no trace of its observance in the intermediate region. The extremely irregular orientation again is not a West Saxon trait. Though the saucer and applied brooches, the crystal ball and inlaid bead, and the glass, may suggest southern connections, the small long brooches so numerous on the site, Pl. XLII, 1, look the other way, for it was shown previously (p. 264 f.) that they really belong to the cruciform class which is distinctly Anglian in type. We regard Kempston accordingly as belonging to the Anglian area, and to enforce this view we have only to reflect on the one or two specially early objects the site has revealed, among them that rare piece, the broad equal armed fibula, the only English counterparts of which occur in Anglian Cambridgeshire (p. 561 f.), and which is found in Hanover and in Holstein.

These same criteria may help us in another part of our imagined frontier where in Warwickshire the Avon runs right up into Anglian territory, taking its rise a dozen miles to the west of Rugby. Rugby School Museum contains a most valuable collection of local antiquities collected and afterwards bequeathed to the institution by the well known antiquary Matthew Bloxam, and there are specimens from the same class of cemeteries in the Museum at Warwick. Here again we meet with cremation. This rite was dying out among the Gewissæ by the time they reached Fairford and they certainly did not carry it with them when they made their way up the Avon valley, yet cinerary urns were found at Marton between Warwick and Rugby—one with a late saucer brooch in it, Pl. LXIX, 5 (p. 343), and on the same site were discovered wrist clasps, that are unknown in the West Saxon area. Again the cruciform brooch in its simpler and chaster form

with the three knobs, not the late florid form, the object which is after all the chief criterion that marks off Angle from Saxon, is very rare in the West Saxon area, though it occurs curiously enough more often in Kent. Of a pair found recently at East Shefford, Berks, one was figured Pl. XLI, 6 (p. 261), and Mr. Leeds says that two discovered by Professor Rolleston at Frilford, Berks, are in America;[1] a three knobbed cruciform brooch of a later type occurs at Fairford (*Fairford Graves*, pl. III, 6) and one not unlike it was found at Shepperton on the Thames (Pl. CLVI, 6), but these are all that seem to be known in the Thames basin and that of the Avon till we come near Rugby. In this part of Warwickshire they are in full evidence, and they were represented in the extraordinarily interesting find of interments on the actual line of the Watling Street near Rugby, already referred to (p. 139). The burials extended for a length of half a mile and were of men women and children. There was one cinerary urn containing 'ashes concreted together in a lump at the bottom' and by it a sword with a spear and shield boss. With the other bodies were arms, iron buckles, hooked instruments (keys?), fibulae both long shaped and circular, clasps, rings, tweezers, and feminine possessions in bronze and silver, beads of amber and glass, and small drinking cups.[2] The cremation urn, the long brooches, and the clasps, all betoken an Anglian cemetery. The wrist clasp is, as we have seen (p. 364), a characteristic product of the Mid-Anglian cemeteries, but in West Saxon ones it is unknown. When we come to deal with the Middle and East Anglian cemeteries we shall see the cruciform brooch as well as the wrist clasp in full possession of the field, the former indeed the characteristic type of brooch over the whole area,

[1] *The Archaeology*, etc., p. 64, note.

[2] M. H. Bloxam, *A Glimpse at the Monumental Architecture and Sculpture of Great Britain*, Lond., 1834, p. 44. The site is called Cestersover.

See Akerman's *Pagan Saxondom*, pl. XVIII, and *Coll. Ant.*, I, p. 36. One of the long brooches is figured Pl. XLI, 1 (p. 261).

and these phenomena do certainly constitute an archaeological difference between Angle and Saxon.

Midway between the two parts of the long frontier just noticed there is another region where similar phenomena present themselves. This is where the system of the Northamptonshire Nene impinges on that of the Cherwell in the country north of Banbury.[1] In a line of earthworks along the course north and south of the so-called Portway, signalized in the place names Aston-le-Wall, Walton, etc., it has been sought to see a fortified 'limes' between Angle and Saxon, like that across Newmarket Heath where East Anglia is supposed to have entrenched itself against foes on the west. However this may be, while in the Cherwell valley there are West Saxon finds, just on the eastward side of this perhaps imaginary frontier work, Marston St. Lawrence, in the extreme south-western corner of Northants, brings us face to face with Anglian culture. The site is not riparian but is on the high ground of the actual watershed beyond the limit where any of the streams flowing from the east could have been navigable, and here is found a cemetery which, as is the case with the Nene valley sites in general, is a partly cremation one though most of the interments were by inhumation. Northants generally, and of course Leicestershire and Rutland, are Anglian in their partial use of cremation, their cruciform fibulae, their girdle hangers, and their sleeve clasps, though the last keep rather to the east of Leicestershire and belong more to the region centering in Cambridgeshire. Huntingdonshire produced a fine series of Anglian brooches and of wrist clasps found partly at Woodstone near Peterborough and now in the Museum of that town. Here however we are in thoroughly Anglian surroundings and well within the frontier.

It follows from what has now been said that a delimitation

[1] A. Beesley, *History of Banbury*, Lond., 1850, p. 28 f.

in the Midlands between Angle and Saxon is possible, and that archaeological evidence agrees with that drawn from geography and from history. We can surrender the two old-established criteria, cremation and the saucer brooch, though as we have seen the first of these still possesses value, and may admit that in the patterns of funereal pottery, in florid square-headed brooches, in arms, in vessels and numerous other objects, substantial differences are not to be discerned, but at the same time the three objects so often mentioned, the cruciform brooches, the wrist clasps, and the girdle hangers, abundant on the one side of the line but so sparingly represented, if represented at all, on the other, do furnish us with very distinct differentiae between the two regions and races.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CEMETERIES OF THE THAMES BASIN

THE FOLLOWING are brief notes on the principal cemeteries in the Thames and Avon areas just reviewed. The direction of the survey is from east to west. The first finds to be noticed are some near the Thames waterway on the north coast of Kent, and of these the most instructive are those at

NORTHFLEET near Gravesend. In 1847 and again in 1899 to the south of Northfleet Church, and in 1901 to the west of it, Anglo-Saxon burial places were discovered, the objects found in which were included in the Arnold collection and are now partly in the Museum and Free Library at Gravesend partly at Maidstone. The most important objects are urns, some of the distinctive so-called 'Anglian' type, and others of the plain kind that are so often found in the same cemeteries with the former, and a certain number of these were cinerary urns and contained human bones. As no assured cases of cremation of Anglo-Saxon date were known from the many Kentish cemeteries, this discovery was rightly held a most remarkable one, and it is really the fundamental fact that underlies the theory of the colonization of the Thames basin to which expression has been given in the last chapter. These urns are now called West Saxon not Jutish, and are brought into connection with similar cremation and other urns found in riparian cemeteries higher up the river. Though urns of this 'Anglian' kind do occur elsewhere in Kent, yet the characteristic pottery of the Jutish cemeteries we have seen to be of quite a different type (p. 506 f.). There

are 15 of these Northfleet urns besides fragments at Maidstone, and several still at Gravesend. One of the plain ones with the bones in it has been shown Pl. CXXXVIII, 7 (p. 505). Burnt human bones were also found in one of the Maidstone urns that has distinctive 'Anglian' ornamentation upon it, and this proves that 'Anglian' urns as well as plain ones at Northfleet were used for cremation. At Gravesend there are some excellent arms from the site including a good sword blade and an angon, while at Maidstone is a 'francisca' axe head. The most significant of the products are however saucer brooches. Our previous study of this object (p. 312 f.) has shown it in common use in the West Saxon and Mid-Anglian areas, though it is no doubt more specially Saxon, and plenty of examples have been found in Sussex. In Kent the poor little specimens we found at Bifrons, Pl. XXXVI, 5, 12, (p. 245), hardly count as saucer brooches in the ordinary sense, and Mr. Leeds, in his paper on the subject in *Archaeologia*, LXIII, enumerates only 14 Kentish examples, of which 7 were found either at Northfleet or in this particular region of Kent. Of the rest, one came from Chatham which it could have easily reached from the estuary. Of one at Canterbury and one in the British Museum the exact provenance is doubtful, while three were found in the King's Field, Faversham, the richest but the worst explored cemetery in the whole country, a site where we should not be surprised to find all sorts of outland objects. Only at Sarre was one found in really Jutish connections. Hence it follows that we can remove saucer brooches out of the Jutish tomb inventory and keep them to the Saxons and the Angles, the appearance of them in Sussex being in this respect instructive as showing that 'Saxon,' archaeologically speaking, does mean something after all. Of two Northfleet saucer brooches at Maidstone one is a scroll pattern example of early date perhaps about 500 A.D., and the other is an almost exact counterpart of brooches found much higher up the river, one at Filkins in Oxfordshire, shown Pl.

LXVIII, 3 (p. 341), and one at Fairford, *Archaeologia*, LXIII, pl. XXVI, 6, both avowed West Saxon sites. It is a curious fact that though the three brooches are so much alike one has seven dots in the little central rosette, another eight and the third nine, so that exact repetition is as usual avoided. The Northfleet brooch will be found Pl. CLVI, 2.

There are one or two other North Kent sites that are of the same type as Northfleet.

CLIFFE-AT-HOO and HIGHAM, east of Gravesend are likely sites for cemeteries of this kind. Of one at the first named place[1] little is recorded but the fact of its former existence, but Higham furnished to the Rochester Museum a scroll-patterned saucer brooch of early type, shown Pl. LIX, 2.

HORTON KIRBY. This site is six miles up the Darent, that runs into the Thames past Dartford at which place there have been some Anglo-Saxon finds of no special significance. Horton Kirby may be a riparian settlement like Northfleet. Here about 35 graves were opened in 1866-7, yielding some of the usual objects, see Pl. XXX, 2 (p. 233), including certain urns that were apparently not cinerary. The most important find was that of a pair of saucer brooches, figured Pl. LVII, 5 (p. 313). They are adorned with full-face human heads filling in the spaces between the arms of a sort of cross (without Christian significance) within a border like a Roman 'vitta' (p. 312). The same cruciform pattern, though without the heads, occurs on a pair of saucer brooches from High Down, Sussex, shown Pl. CLVI, 1 (p. 623), and the border on some Wiltshire examples at Devizes as well as the Bucks fibula Pl. LVIII, 1 (p. 315). The next site is

GREENWICH. Here in the Park, south-west of the Observatory, there is a group of tumuli, 50 of which Douglas opened in 1784, finding enough to show an Anglo-Saxon origin but nothing of interest save rather extensive remains of woollen and linen fabrics. The cemetery is of interest as the

[1] *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XIII, 502.

only one known that may have belonged to one of the Anglo-Saxon settlements which have been already noticed (p. 607) as clustering round London. These settlements we have seen to be Saxon in their names, and in their configuration they exhibit the normal features of village church and village green and manor house, yet in the case of no one of them has any trace of the original cemetery, so far as the writer knows, betrayed its presence. The ground all round them has been dug over often enough, and traces may have passed out of existence unrecorded, or there is the alternative that the settlements themselves may have been formed rather late when the pagan system of interment was passing out of use.

In LONDON itself there have been two discoveries of early objects, in neither case in connection with an interment, and for these the reader is referred to (p. 611). The bulk of the Anglo-Saxon discoveries in London have been of the later or Danish period, and will be discussed in a succeeding volume. A little to the west of London and on the south of the river discoveries of much interest have been made. The riparian tract itself was clay land and marshy and did not invite settlers, who seem to have turned their boats up the lateral stream of the Wandle that bore them to sites where at a very early date they made themselves at home.

Anglo-Saxon burials in Surrey so far as they are known are confined to the eastern half of the county and to the gradual northern slope of the North Downs from the latitude of Mitcham to that of Leatherhead. To the south and west of the county there were great stretches of heath and woodland that were unattractive to settlers of agricultural tastes. At Croydon and to the west and south of that centre, in a district opened up by the Wandle, discoveries attest the presence from an early date of Teutonic immigrants in whom we see the future Gewissæ or West Saxons. In cemeteries of this kind, well supplied with arms and containing objects the date of which might fall within V, we may see archaeological

evidence that carries us back to the first settlement of the localities. We must not of course expect to find every object of a specially early date, for the cemetery generally will have remained in use for some considerable time, nor must we on the other hand jump to a general conclusion from the appearance of a single object of disproportionate antiquity, as such a thing may be an accidental survival. Apart from the appearance of this or that special object, a cemetery will have a certain physiognomy of its own, and on some sites we seem brought into touch with objects that may have been seen and used by the earliest Teutonic settlers.

CROYDON with some surrounding places such as PURLEY, WALLINGTON and BEDDINGTON were such early seats. In the first-named town itself, not far from the Town Hall, discoveries in connection with building operations were made in 1895,[1] and the proceeds are partly in the Grange Wood Museum at Thornton Heath and partly in the British Museum. In Beddington parish near the site of a Roman villa Anglo-Saxon interments have from time to time been revealed, and some objects from there are to be seen in the Croydon Public Library. Other graves were opened near Sanderstead Station under Purley Down and one was found at Wallington. Altogether this group may account for some 50 skeletons which from the large number of arms and paucity of ornaments are conjectured to have been chiefly male. Arms naturally are an early sign, for the longer a community has lived a settled agricultural life in a single spot the less will these be in evidence. Croydon arms have been shown Pll. XXIII, 2; XXV, 3; XXVII, 9; XXIX, 6; XXXII, 15 (an angon). The chief point of importance however here was the fact that cremation as well as burial was in use. An enriched cinerary urn, 9 in. high, in which were fragments of bones, and half a dozen other similar urns, were found in 1871 and subsequently on the Beddington site, while a very handsome but fractured

[1] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XV, 328.

cinerary urn found with bones at Croydon is in the British Museum.

MITCHAM. *Archaeologia* LX contains the account of discoveries at Mitcham and its vicinity from 1871 onwards from the pen of Captain Harold Bidder, in whose collection most of the objects found are preserved, while he has placed others in the Mitcham Vestry Hall.[1] At Mitcham some 77 graves have been opened on land connected with Ravensbury Park and the bodies have been found lying on, or slightly sunk into, the gravel subsoil at depths varying from 18 in. to 3 ft. There were no external marks, but it is interesting to learn that land in the vicinity of the cemetery had been known for centuries as 'Dead Man's Close.' The site is on a slight slope above the river Wandle and further explorations in the same cemetery may be looked for. The feet were mostly turned to the east but there were some cases of north and south orientation. The crouching position occurred once. It is noteworthy that no single case of cremation has been met with here though at HACKBRIDGE two miles further up the river graves were opened in the early seventies of which cremated burials formed a feature.

MITCHAM is undoubtedly an early cemetery. Arms were again conspicuous, for three swords were found in each case with an umbo, and as was the case at Croydon some of those early objects in bronze were discovered of which there was question in connection with Pll. CLII f. (p. 558). Mr. Reginald Smith in *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XXI, argued for an early date for the cemetery from the complete absence of the specially Teutonic animal ornament which we find coming into such general, though as we have seen (p. 104 f.) not universal, use from about 500 A.D. Such animal forms as occur are of the early romanizing type noticed (p. 556 f.). The close resemblance of a romanizing bronze buckle to a similar piece found on the Anglian site of Burwell Fen, Cambridgeshire, has been noticed

[1] See also *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, XXI, and *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XXI, 4.

in connection with Pl. CLIV, 2, 3 (p. 555), and is a very curious fact. Pl. CLIV, 3 is the Mitcham piece, No. 2 that from Burwell Fen. Mitcham glass is simple, and there were four urns of pottery one at any rate of which had 'Anglian' details. Of special interest were the saucer and applied brooches, the former ornamented with linear designs, stars, and running scrolls. Specimens are figured Pll. LVII, 6; LIX, 6 (pp. 313, 317). At Mitcham the early signs are pretty constant, but at Croydon fragments of claw-glass goblets would bring the use of the cemetery down to about 600 A.D.

FARTHINGDOWN. Quite out of the Wandle district to the south, near Coulsdon, a cemetery of a different aspect[1] has been brought to light on the elevated ridge of Farthingdown some 400 ft. above the sea. The skeletons, all inhumed, within the 16 graves opened were sunk a little in the chalk and were all laid with the feet to the east, the places of interment being marked by low mounds. Ornaments were again infrequent, and it has been noticed that there is a curious absence of beads in Surrey graves. A small gold pendant has a cruciform design upon it that may possibly have a Christian significance. Arms as usual were conspicuous, and in one remarkable interment there was the skeleton of a warrior whose stature was reckoned at about 6 ft. 5 in., and across whose breast lay a mighty sword 3 ft. 2 in. long weighing 1 lb. 14 oz. and accompanied by the elaborately constructed shield boss figured Pl. XXIII, 3 (p. 199).

Further inland no discoveries of the pagan period in Surrey have been recorded, save some doubtful finds on the downs at Leatherhead and we may now return to the Thames Valley.

TWICKENHAM was the site of a discovery reported in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, June 20, 1912, vol. xxiv, p. 327. The chief object was the jewelled gold

[1] Well described by Mr. Wickham Flower in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, VI, 109.

pendant figured Pl. LIII, 8 (p. 311), but there were other objects from the site which may have come from the same grave. The most interesting of these is a shield boss, 7 in. high, of conical form but with an ogee outline that looks more Celtic than Anglo-Saxon.[1] The early character of umbos in the Thames Valley cemeteries has however already formed the subject of comment (p. 200). The outline is given in Fig. 22.

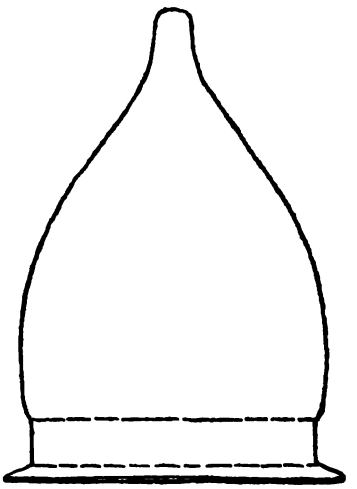


FIG. 22.—Outline of Umbo from Twickenham.

Far more germane to the subject in hand are discoveries made a little higher up the stream at SHEPPERTON. Here on the Middlesex bank almost opposite to Walton-on-Thames a cemetery was discovered and reported on by Mr. Mainwaring Shurlock in 1868.[2] Eight skeletons had been found in a gravel-pit laid out with feet to the east, with traces of the funeral feast but no sign of coffins. Pl. XVIII, 1 (p. 177), gives a view of the disposition of one of these in the grave with its arms, while the sword hilt, of distinctively early type, is illustrated Pl. XXVI, 2 (p. 219). The interment has a very early appearance. These inhumed bodies were not however alone, for cremated burials also occurred on the site. 'The mode of sepulture varied,' wrote Mr. Shurlock, 'some bodies were burnt, the bones collected and placed in urns for interment.' When the report was read in 1868 he exhibited an urn in his possession, the undisturbed contents of which consisted in calcined bones embedded in earth that had become hard like concrete. In

[1] See examples figured by M. Déchelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie*, etc., II, Second Age du Fer, p. 1163.

[2] *Arch. Journ.*, XXV, 171. *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd Ser. IV, 118.

the earth he had found a minute glass bead and a small portion of a bronze ornament. The labourer who had discovered the urn said he had destroyed many others. Between the reading and the printing of the report two more urns with calcined bones were found near the site. Fifty years previously an urn containing burnt bones had been found in the Shepperton Range gravel-pit and an engraving of it was exhibited of which Fig. 23 is a sketch-reproduction. The form and decoration are markedly of the type called on the Continent 'Saxon,' and by ourselves 'Anglian' on account of their prevalence in the Anglian districts of our own country. It is not very common to find an urn of such a thoroughly north country type in the south.



FIG. 23.—Cinerary urn from Shepperton.

A small bronze cruciform fibula of a latish type was found at Shepperton and is preserved with other objects from the site in the Castle Arch Museum, Guildford. It is figured Pl. CLVI, 6.

Shepperton is a riparian cemetery of the type of that at Northfleet. We will now follow the West Saxon colonization of the northern side of the valley through Herts and Buckinghamshire up to the watershed where we have provisionally fixed the boundary between Saxon and Angle. The first named county is poorly supplied with Anglo-Saxon burying grounds, though we must remember the REDBOURN tumuli opened in XII (p. 121). There have been isolated finds however, such as that of the bronze ewer found at WHEATHAMPSTEAD between Hertford and Luton, Pl. CXIV, 1 (p. 467).

The waterway of the Lea opened the way through the centre of Hertfordshire into the southern part of the neighbouring county of Bedford, and here as in Bucks the people appear to have distinctly West Saxon characteristics while in the north of Bedfordshire we are confronted with Anglian characteristics. The Lea which passes Wheathampstead comes down from near LEAGRAVE, north-west from Luton, where two inhumed bodies with suggestions of early date were found.[1] There were other remains a little further on at CHALTON and a long hedge not far off bears the suggestive name of 'Dead Man's Hedge.' Leagrave objects were figured Pl. LXXX, 2 (p. 369) and Pl. CXII, 2 (p. 463), and are early. A little beyond Chalton is TODDINGTON where a dozen skeletons were found, one with feet to the north. Toddington is about six miles north-east of LEIGHTON BUZZARD and here on Leighton Heath a mile north of the town a cremation cemetery came to light, the site being connected with a local name 'Dead Man's Slode,' or Slade. Both at Toddington and here there were applied and saucer brooches and also small long brooches of the general kind represented at Kempston, Pl. XLII, 1 (p. 265), but the manner of disposing of the bodies was quite different. It would be pedantic to insist too rigidly on the theory of the watershed frontier, but it is worthy of notice that though Leighton and Leagrave are almost on the same parallel of latitude yet the former is on the other side of the divide and is on the Ousel a tributary of the Ouse flowing from the north. At SHEFFORD to the north in the direction of Bedford, within the assumed Anglian area, there was a discovery made of the usual saucer brooches. The fine urn at Cambridge from SANDY still further north, Pl. CXXXIII, 5 (p. 497), 9½ in. high, has all the appearance of an Anglian cinerary vessel but it seems actually to have been found with a skeleton and also remains of wooden coffins. Burials at NEWPORT PAGNELL

[1] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XXI, 59.

on the other side of Bedford from Sandy are rather against the watershed theory. The site, which is in the county of Bucks, is on the Ousel and should be Anglian. A considerable inhumation cemetery was opened here in 1900 and more recent discoveries have been made on the spot.[1] A variety of the usual objects were found, the types being on the whole early. The feature which seems to connect this cemetery specially with the South was the disposal of bodies in a circle, a peculiarity observed at Shoeburyness, Essex (p. 598), Cuddesdon, Oxfordshire (p. 658), and to some extent at Stowting, Kent (p. 713).

The Museum at Aylesbury contains objects of interest from several sites in the Vale, and all the associations of the finds appear to be West Saxon. ASHENDON, STONE, BISHOPSTONE, DINTON are some of the sites. OVING produced the enamelled bronze plaque, Pl. CXIX, 2 (p. 475), and burials at WING and MENTMORE have been previously noticed (p. 119). There are records of about 50 graves in the district, though many more must have been opened. In what is known as the Causeway Field at BISHOPSTONE,[2] a couple of miles south of Aylesbury, graves were found at a depth of 2 ft. to 2 ft. 6 in., in which most of the bodies were laid full length in a direction north and south while a few were contracted. Here was a sword, sundry spear heads and knives, three umbos, saucer and applied brooches as well as square headed ones, tweezers, beads, and other objects including the very remarkable early bronze girdle-plate, figured Pl. CLV, 1 (p. 563). A feature of the locality is the large saucer brooch, of which specimens have been found at STONE and ASHENDON[3]; Pl. LVIII, 1 (p. 315) shows one 3¼ in. in diameter from the latter site. These are late examples of the type, and on the whole the objects from this group of sites are not specially early, but are quite of a Saxon character. The finds from DINTON are

[1] *The Antiquary*, XXXVI, 1900, p. 97. *Records of Buckinghamshire*, IX, 420.
[2] ibid., v. 25. [3] Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, pl. XXXVIII.

in private hands, among them is a good funnel-shaped glass goblet, as Pl. CXXVIII, 2 (p. 487).

Returning towards the Thames, we meet at KINGSEY near Thame with cremation burials that are not represented in the Aylesbury Vale. Two urns filled with human bones were found in 1859,[1] and in one was a Roman coin of the Emperor Hadrian. This may be regarded as a cremation cemetery of the Thames-side type, the site being easily accessible up the Thame and the Ford brook.

All burials in this particular region are put to the shade by the magnificent one in the far-famed TAPLOW BARROW overlooking the Thames.[2] This, the most remarkable single interment of the whole Anglo-Saxon period, is that of a chieftain of rank and wealth whose grave was found at the base of a large tumulus in the old churchyard at Taplow. The site is near the river and on an elevation commanding an extensive view. The barrow, which was roughly circular and about 80 ft. in diameter by a height to its flat top of about 15 ft., was excavated in October 1883. The earth and gravel of which it was composed held many fragments of Roman and of earlier date that had been on or in the ground used as material for the tumulus. The Anglo-Saxon burial was however to all appearance the primary and the sole interment, and the mound had been heaped up expressly to cover it. The grave was under the centre of the barrow but was excavated to a depth of 6 ft. below the original level of the churchyard and measured 12 ft. in length by 8 ft. in width.

There is a marked resemblance between this interment and that at Broomfield, Essex (p. 601 f.). In both cases there

[1] *Records of Buckinghamshire*, II, 166.

[2] The description that follows is taken in the main from the account in the *Victoria History*, Bucks, I, 200 f., which was based on a MS. record communicated by one of the explorers. The objects from the site form a conspicuous part of the Anglo-Saxon collection in the British Museum, but some fragments are at Reading.

was a grave of Mycenaean amplitude with an almost Mycenaean wealth of tomb furniture, but hardly any traces of an actual body. At Broomfield there was some evidence of the existence of a coffin but no remains of bones nor even of osteoid ashes. Here at Taplow there was evidence that the grave had been lined and covered with stout planks equivalent to a coffin, but remains unmistakable though small of the actual body did come to light. The fragment of a jaw-bone with a tooth in it was found at the east end of the grave which was oriented south of east to north of west, and this shows that the corpse was laid with feet to the west instead of turned in the usual direction. A fragment of a thigh bone towards the west confirms this inference, and we may conclude from this that the interment was not a Christian one, that is not later than the conversion of the West Saxons by Birinus about 635. On the other hand the tomb furniture gave no indication of a very early date such as we have seen reason to infer for some of the Surrey burials. Many of the objects were of VII character and closely resembled the richly adorned jewels characteristic of the more opulent Jutish burials in Kent. Kentish affinities indeed, absent in Surrey, were here specially in evidence. It should be made quite clear that we are not dealing here with a Viking burial, for the signs of the Viking age nowhere appear on the tomb furniture, but with the burial of some distinguished chieftain of the Gewissæ, of a date about the year 600 or a decade or so later.

In the matter of arms there is to be noted the appearance of two iron shield bosses placed above the head and to the right or north side of it, and of two spear heads one of the ordinary kind and the other of the great length of 26 in. and barbed, so that it is possibly an instance of the rare angon. Both these spear heads were found where the feet of the skeleton must have been, and not as is usual, e.g. in the Shepperton grave (p. 177), by the head. This variation is observed also in the case of Frankish tombs. A sword 32 in. long and 2½ in.

wide in a wooden scabbard lay by the side of the body with the hilt under the arm. There was also of course a knife.

In the category of personal ornaments and of vessels the inventory discloses exceptional richness. Remains of the actual clothes in which a corpse was attired or wrapped frequently make their appearance in Anglo-Saxon graves, and among the materials is certainly wool and perhaps sometimes linen. In certain cases the fabrics have been enriched with gold threads or rather strips interwoven with filaments of wool or linen. This was the case in several Jutish graves, and the enriched pieces seem to have been used in the headdress and at the wrists (p. 385). At Taplow gold strips were in evidence and certain textile fragments preserved at the British and the Reading Museums show how the gold was used, and this has been already explained (p. 385 f.).

This gold inwoven tissue seems to have formed a mantle fastened on the shoulder by a golden buckle 4 in. long adorned with garnet inlays shown Pl. B, IV, to right (p. 353). This is of distinctly Kentish type, and the debased zoomorphic ornament in gold filigree work, similar to that in the compartments of the Kingston brooch, Vol. III, Frontispiece, shows that the jewel is of VII character. On the same Plate B, IV, to left, is shown a gilded bronze clasp, one of a pair that seem to have fastened the belt as they were found in the region of the waist. The ornament here is of the same character as that on the buckle, and as we have seen already (p. 330 f.) would indicate a date of about A.D. 600 or a little later.

The vessels placed in the grave were numerous and varied and in some instances of a unique character. The same remark may be made about the vessels in the Broomfield grave, and the resemblance between the two interments is in this respect particularly close. In both cases a comparatively large uncovered vessel had been placed in the tomb, and in it was disposed a whole collection of smaller vessels

many of which corresponded in the two cases pretty closely. In each case there were two horns, two glass vessels, and two metal mounted wooden cups. The horns at Broomfield were in their natural state, but at Taplow they were tipped and mounted round the mouth in such a fashion as to turn them into costly and beautiful works of art. Pl. CXI, 1 (p. 461), shows one of the horns and Pl. LX, 1 (p. 319), gave on a larger scale the pattern on the metal mounts, see the description (p. 319 f.). Other mounts may have belonged to a couple of wooden drinking cups similar to the pair found in the open pan in the Broomfield grave. Both in Essex and here at Taplow two glass vessels accompanied the horns and wooden cups. Apart from these sets of smaller vessels contained in a larger, there was at Taplow a claw glass beaker of the type shown Pl. CXXIV (p. 484), and a fourth glass vessel of tumbler shape, another small metal mounted drinking horn, and two buckets of which metal parts were of iron and also of bronze. The most remarkable vessel of all however was the handsome cast bronze bowl, a foot high on a moulded stem, Pl. CXV, 1 (p. 469). It is most remarkable that at Broomfield an iron bowl upon a stem of a quite unique character was found in the grave in the same relative position as the bronze bowl at Taplow, that is in the middle of the south side, Pl. CX, 2 (p. 459). There were also at Taplow one or two minor objects including a set of 30 bone pieces of cylindrical shape apparently for the purpose of some game.

The bank of the Thames in this part of its course has yielded up one or two isolated objects that may be mentioned. Thus a spear head was found accidentally about 20 years ago near the railway station at MAIDENHEAD,[1] and an interesting saucer fibula found by the Thames at ASTON NEAR REMENHAM is figured in Baron de Baye's *Industrial Arts of the Anglo-Saxons*, Pl. VIII, fig. 5. A 'winged' iron spearhead of a late type, now at Reading, came from the Thames river bed, and

[1] *Berks, Bucks and Oxon Archaeological Journal*, IV, 1898, p. 87.

the wonderful ornamented pommel of a dagger found at WINDSOR, Pl. LVI (p. 311), is also of a late period, though still no doubt of VII.

COOKHAM produced a small collection of arms found with six skeletons in connection with railway works about 1854, and now in the Reading Museum. Among them was the unique two edged dagger, Pl. XXVIII, 3 (p. 231).

READING in its Museum enshrines objects of great interest found in Anglo-Saxon riparian cemeteries within the present limits of the town, and these sites were discussed in a valuable article by W. Ravenscroft, F.S.A., in vol. XIII, 1907-8, of the *Berks, Bucks and Oxon Archaeological Journal*, on which the following is based. Two of these cemeteries agree with other Thames Valley burial grounds in offering clear evidence of the practice of cremation side by side with that of the interment of the unburnt body. In common also with other important Berkshire cemeteries, such as Long Wittenham and Frilford, these two Reading burial grounds had been in use in the pre-Saxon period, and we have to deal with the relations between Romano-British and Teutonic interments on approximately the same sites. A third Reading cemetery in which Anglo-Saxon interments have been identified is one which belonged originally to the oldest church of the town, the predecessor of the present St. Lawrence. This oldest church seems to have been pulled down when Reading Abbey was built, but its graveyard remained, close up to the wall of the Abbey, and was in use till the Suppression. In 1906 ancient interments were discovered in the Forbury Garden on the site of this old cemetery, and there are arguments, partly craniological, which indicate that the earliest interments found were of the late Anglo-Saxon period. These burials being in consecrated ground would of course not include tomb furniture, and we are concerned here rather with the earlier cemeteries which begin with the pagan period, but are held to contain interments down to about the date 740, at which time burials

in the consecrated churchyard would already have become general.

The first of these two earlier cemeteries was discovered in 1891 and is called the pagan Thames-Kennet cemetery. It was reported on by Dr. Joseph Stevens in a paper read in 1893 and published in vol. L of the *Journal of the Archaeological Association*, p. 150 f. The discovery was made on the occasion of the widening of the Great Western Railway at a spot near the junction of the Kennet with the Thames to the east of the town. The interments were both incinerated and inhumed, the inhumed bodies lying east and west but with the feet to the west and not to the east, as in a normal orientation. Out of 13, 7 were cremated 5 inhumed and 1 was doubtful. The depth was slight, 2 ft. to 2 ft. 6 in., and there was no indication of tumuli, though Dr. Stevens remarked that 'the distances the interments lay apart favour the opinion that small tumuli were at one time present.' Some cinerary urns were found with bones in them, and in one case there was in the urn part of a bone comb. In the case of the inhumed bodies there was no evidence from nails clamps or decayed wood that coffins had been used.

The second cemetery was discovered about the same time and in the same locality, in a meadow alongside the King's Road leading east from the town. In a report by Dr. Stevens in vol. 1 of the *Berks, Bucks and Oxon Archaeological Journal*, three levels of interments were distinguished, at 6 ft., 4 ft., to 3 ft. and 2 ft. 6 in. On the lowest level were found oriented skeletons of tall subjects 'with globular crania, powerful jaws, and high cheek bones, characteristic of the Celtic race,'[1] with no tomb furniture, while 'the shallower graves yielded secular objects with the bodies, which were not buried in so orderly a way, their occupants having longer, broader, and more capacious skulls.' The inference is that the lower burials were of a Christianized British population

[1] Ravenscroft, l.c. (p. 642).

while those above were Anglo-Saxon, of a people who though perhaps nominally Christian still preserved the pagan institution of tomb furniture. It was surmised that the latest burials might come down to about 740 A.D. Fifty-one skeletons were exposed, making sixty-four in the two cemeteries.

In regard to tomb furniture the pagan Thames-Kennet cemetery furnished among other objects the following. With inhumed interment No. 4 there was a most interesting early specimen of the 'applied' brooch, shown Pl. LVIII, 5 (p. 315) (the brooch is one of a pair), the ornamentation of which consists in a very classical looking border divided off by a cable moulding from an inner space ornamented with a ring of full-faced human heads around a central star. With interment 7 (inhumed) occurred an ornamented urn 5 in. high, and with the urn was a pair of 'applied' brooches the ornamentation on which is of the debased zoomorphic kind.

In the second or King's Road cemetery there were sundry miscellaneous finds but apparently no arms. The most interesting of these finds were two objects in pewter, a metal often employed by the Romans and used also for later Anglo-Saxon brooches. With one male skeleton was found a much corroded large cruciform fibula in this material 5 in. long, while with another male skeleton with its feet to the east appeared a very exceptional and interesting piece of tomb furniture in the form of a pewter chalice, 4 in. high, Pl. XI, 3 (p. 117). A similar object is in the Museum at Canterbury, and the occurrence of this sacerdotal insignium in a cemetery of this kind, not attached to a church, is remarkable. The piece is probably late, as the form of the chalice approaches that common in the Romanesque epoch, and in any case the find is an interesting link of connection between the Early Christian and mediaeval epochs in our Church history.

LONG WITTENHAM, about half way between Wallingford and Abingdon on the Berkshire side of the river, is a classic

site where as at Reading and Frilford the Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon civilizations seem to meet, though it may be rash to hazard any theory as to what relations between the two races seem to be indicated. Some existing place names, like the place name Britford near Salisbury, have been held to betoken localities frequented by the British population. Between such a population and the Saxons at Long Wittenham or at Harnham Hill peaceful relations may have been maintained, and certain objects of Romano-British provenance found in Saxon graves at both the places just named may be held to give support to this suggestion, see Pl. CII, 4 (p. 425), and Fig. 20 (p. 619). Taking these cases alone the suggestion would not carry much weight, but the instance that we shall presently come to at Fairford in Gloucestershire is much more striking. Here we shall find a cemetery the use of which must have begun quite early situated some eight miles from Corinium or Cirencester, a fortified Romano-British city that we are told only fell before the Saxon arms on the occasion of the successful campaign of the West Saxon Ceawlin in 577 A.D. In view of this remarkable situation cases not so striking, such as these in Berkshire, assume an importance that forbids us to pass them over in silence.

LONG WITTENHAM was reported on grave by grave by the well known antiquary J. Y. Akerman in *Archaeologia*, XXXVIII and XXXIX, and the objects discovered are mostly in the national collection. The site was on the south of the village, about two miles from a farm on which Romano-British remains were so plentiful that traces of buildings of that period are spread over 250 acres and fragments of contemporary pottery strew the fields. Here in 1859-60, on a bed of gravel beneath about 3 ft. of alluvial soil were found a number of skeletons indicating 'a large robust race,' the thigh bones of the men measuring 20½ in. to 17½ in., those of the women 18 in. to 14 in., while one female thigh bone was 20 in. long. In most cases the feet pointed some-

what north of east though children were generally laid north and south. There were between 180 and 190 inhumed interments, and besides these there were 46 cremation urns with burnt bones in them accompanied occasionally by trifling objects such as a fragmentary comb or pair of tweezers. It should be specially noted that these cremation urns were certainly Teutonic and not Romano-British, as they have the distinctive form and ornamentation of the Anglo-Saxon type. The explorer thought that the earlier interments were cremated pagan ones the later inhumed Christian, and he noticed that when cremation urns had been disturbed by the subsequent burial of an unburnt body the urns with their ashes were treated with a reverent care that reminds us of what Faussett noticed in some of the Kentish grave fields, where however the cinerary urns were pre-Saxon.

Arms were not conspicuous, only two swords being found, but one early burial was of a warrior[1] with his feet to the north, equipped with sword, spear, and shield and accompanied by a small urn at his shoulder. Another with the same orientation had with him a buckle with the heads at the terminations of the ring that we have ascribed to V (p. 552 f.). On the other side a distinctly Christian object appeared in the form of the famous 'Long Wittenham stoup,' now in the British Museum. This is a small pail or beaker covered with bronze plates on which were embossed scriptural subjects. On this the reader is referred to what was said about a similar discovery at Strood, Kent (p. 115 f.), where a Gallo-Roman provenance seemed indicated.

Ornaments were abundant in the graves of the women, especially in the form of saucer and applied fibulae, of which there were 26, for the most part in pairs, as well as 8 that had lost their embossed front plates.[2] They appear from their orna-

[1] *Arch. Journ.*, v, 291. This discovery was made a decade before the regular opening of the cemetery.

[2] *Archaeologia*, LXIII, 197.

ment to be of various dates and bear out the view that the cemetery was for a long time in use. Flat disc brooches of bronze, and small square headed ones were also in evidence. Buckles were poorly represented (p. 352 f.) but beads were plentiful, and in one grave, No. 71, there were 270 all of amber. Objects of rarity were two of the small button shaped brooches (p. 276), and a minute pair of bronze tweezers that was found in a cinerary urn. A pair of scales was brought to light in grave 80, and in grave 93, where was the Christian stoup, there was a beaten bronze bowl of the type of the Croydon one, Pl. CXVII, 3 (p. 472).

DORCHESTER-ON-THAMES. Discoveries here have been already referred to and certain finds have been figured, Pll. XL, 6; CLII, 2, 3, etc. They are to all appearance the earliest of any in the whole country, and how the owners of the objects reached the site is not certain. MS. information about the discovery exists in the possession of the Ashmolean Museum and Mr. Leeds has made some of this public. The actual site was apparently near the river Thames at the Dyke Hills, a range of earthworks running between the Thame and the Isis which here makes a sharp bend. There is the authority of Professor Rolleston that there were two skeletons one of which was that of a woman, and to her belonged the smaller buckle, Pl. CLII, 11, and the fibula, Pl. XL, 6 (p. 259). The rest of the objects, Pl. CLII, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 12 (p. 558), with a large bone perforated disc, perhaps from a sword knot, were found with the male skeleton. As the spot is close to the junction of the Thames and Isis it is conceivable that the warrior and his wife, who may have accompanied him on his raids, came down the tributary stream instead of up the main valley.

Other discoveries quite apart from these have been made at Dorchester, and the Museum at Reading contains two large and handsome saucer fibulae $2\frac{7}{8}$ in. in diameter, with linear ornamentation but apparently, from their size, not of

an early date. They may be compared with the large saucer fibulae found at Stone and at Ashendon in the Vale of Aylesbury, and with the obviously late one from Wheatley, Oxon, Pll. LVIII, 1; LXIX, 1 (pp. 315, 343). The comparison emphasizes the West Saxon character of the Aylesbury district. The famous sword from Wallingford in the Ashmolean, the hilt of which is pranked with silver, belongs to the later or Danish period.

FRILFORD. This cemetery, resembling in its main features Reading and Long Wittenham, is of special importance in that it was scientifically explored by Professor Rolleston, who communicated an elaborate report on his researches to vol. XLII of *Archaeologia*. The site is on the river Ock, a tributary of the Thames which it joins by Abingdon, whence Frilford is distant three or four miles, and the excavations were first reported on in 1865 by J. Y. Akerman,[1] who notices that the ground was 'strewed with fragments of Roman or Romano-British pottery.' The site of a Roman villa is near at hand, and as a fact the majority of the Frilford interments, according to the Rolleston report, are Romano-British, so that one great interest of the investigation he carried on is the fixing of the relation between these and the later Teutonic burials. There were 123 burnt or buried bodies in all, and he divides these into no fewer than five classes of which the first two are Romano-British of the period before the Saxon invasion. Of the Anglo-Saxon burials half were cremated half showed inhumation. Urns containing calcined bones at times vindicated their provenance by their 'Anglian' form and ornamentation, the inhumed burials by the characteristic Teutonic tomb furniture. Some of these Anglo-Saxon burials were shallow and unoriented and well supplied with tomb furniture, others were in deeper excavations and oriented, and the grave in these cases was lined with upright stones, and a stone was placed under the head of the skeleton by which it was shown

[1] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd Ser., III, 136 f.

that there was no coffin. All the bodies were found laid at full length.

No sword was discovered and arms were not much in evidence. The saucer brooch was well represented, and in one case at any rate in an early form. The number of these brooches has recently been increased, for Mr. Thurlow Leeds found two applied brooches with zoomorphic ornament on a woman's skeleton on this site in March 1912. Here as at Long Wittenham, Pl. CII, 4 (p. 425), there was found an oval brooch with settings for glass or stones that from its form and character may be pronounced Romano-British.

In 1832 at Milton North Field by ABINGDON some graves were opened, and these produced exceptional treasures in the form of the two extremely fine inlaid disc fibulae of the Kentish type that were figured Pl. CXLV, 1, 2 (p. 533). The one which is now in the Ashmolean was found on the breast of a skeleton lying due north and south at a depth of a couple of feet.

These riverside cemeteries and that at Frilford agree in the character of their sites, which are on low ground and are distinctly riparian. Leaving for the moment the main stream we will now proceed westwards from Reading up the course of the Kennet and into the lateral valley of the Lambourn, where at EAST SHEFFORD, already among the breezy downs, discoveries were made about 1890 in the course of the Lambourn valley railway works, while quite recently, in 1912, fresh excavations have brought to light in the neighbourhood new examples of Anglo-Saxon art. These last are in the Museum at Newbury, while the proceeds of the former diggings are for the most part in the British Museum.

The report read before the Society of Antiquaries on March 20, 1890, indicates 'an extensive Anglo-Saxon burying place' in a locality that 'appears to have been selected from its commanding height and picturesque situation on a high ridge of land on the left bank of the river Lambourn.' There

was a large number of skeletons of all kinds, mostly at a depth of about 2 ft. 9 in. below the surface, and accompanied by arms and ornaments. A woman had on her left shoulder a square headed fibula of gilded bronze of a type not unlike one common in Kent, and wore a small necklet of amber beads. On the breast of another were two applied brooches 2½ in. in diameter. Other circular and quoit shaped brooches are in the British Museum.

The later discoveries on the site in 1912 were described by Mr. Harold Peake, of Westbrook House, Newbury, at a meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute, April 1913. The excavations had been conducted with scrupulous care, and the whole of the facts about the 26 graves opened properly tabulated. The graves were sunk partially in the chalk and pillows had been left (p. 155). It was reported about the skeletons that those of the older women seemed to exhibit a different type from the rest and one that suggested the British race. This observation has already formed the subject of comment (p. 184) and it needs only to be pointed out here that the fact that the racial peculiarities were observed in the aged women would support a theory that here at any rate if not elsewhere the earliest settlers took to themselves British wives.

The objects exhumed were of much interest. Of five urns all found in women's graves one at least was of distinctly Frankish type, Pl. CXXIX, 5 (p. 491), and one of the applied fibulae possesses a counterpart in the Museum at Rouen that was found at Sigy, Seine Inférieure. The two may be compared, Pl. CXLIX, 2 and 5 (p. 553). Fibulae, circular and long, were found in pairs in women's graves, the long ones point upwards. Among the latter were two characteristic cruciform brooches with knobs detached from the head plate and fixed on the ends of the axis of the spring coil, Pl. XLI, 6 (p. 261), after a fashion prevailing about 500 A.D. This discovery is of importance because of the rarity of the type in the West Saxon area, as was noticed above (p. 624). The ordinary ubiquitous

small square headed long brooch was also in evidence, and there was a funnel shaped glass goblet. It is worth noting that a very small boy had been buried with a tiny spear head beside him.

East Shefford though accessible up a lateral stream from the Kennet valley is already among the downs, and one or two down cemeteries in Berks may here have a word. At

ARNE HILL near Lockinge, a mile or two east of Wantage, J. Y. Akerman reported on some excavations in 1862.[1] The site was the top of an isolated hill, and here some 80 skeletons of all ages and both sexes were found at a depth of 2 ft. to 2 ft. 6 in., nearly all lying east and west. The fact that there was very little grave furniture points to a late date for the cemetery. On the other hand not far off at LOCKINGE PARK a single body was discovered in 1892 at a depth of 7 ft., where the crouching position and the character of some of the relics indicated the pagan Anglo-Saxon period. With a blue glass 'melon' bead of Roman provenance (p. 441) were two simple disc shaped bronze brooches with engraved circles on the faces.

On the downs above Uffington, on WHITE HORSE HILL, Berks, some details are given in *Crania Britannica*[2] of the discovery of what were apparently Anglo-Saxon remains in close proximity to or in connection with a Romano-British cemetery and a Roman villa. Near at hand there was a low oblong mound in which were found nearly 50 skeletons pronounced by the writers to be 'clearly of the Roman period,' and the site is on the side of the hill just above the famous White Horse and not far from 'Weland's Smithy.' The mound where the Saxon remains were found was 'of very slight elevation in irregular figure-of-eight form.' Within it were six skeletons carelessly buried. One skeleton had a Romano-British enamelled brooch on its shoulder.

[1] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd Ser., II, 320.

[2] By J. B. Davis, M.D. and John Thurnam, M.D., Lond., 1865, II, 51.

Beside another were found the blade of a knife and the umbo, handle, and silver-headed studs of a shield, of iron and of the well known Anglo-Saxon type. The skilled craniologists who give the report pronounce the skulls to be 'probably Anglo-Saxon,' and to differ from those in the first named mound, but there was no other tomb furniture, and the bones were in a very confused condition. About half the bones were those of children or young people, and this fact, with the comparative absence of arms and personal ornaments, precludes the supposition, which otherwise might have been entertained, that these were bodies of Saxon warriors who died in fight with the Britons or in storming a Roman villa or station. It is a very remarkable fact however that in both sets of interments decapitated skeletons were found, with the heads in some cases placed between the knees. Two male skulls of the Romano-British set had been cleft through by a death blow. Many of this set too were of young people, and of the 46 skeletons 27 had the feet to the east.

The valley of the Kennet, after we pass the lateral valley of the Lambourn leading up into the Berkshire downs, takes us by a straight course westwards to the down country of northern Wilts by Marlborough. By the river, or by the Roman road to Bath which follows its course, the West Saxons may have made their advance, and we find traces of their presence in North Wilts as well as at Harnham Hill by Salisbury a good deal to the south. The one important Wiltshire cemetery, that at HARNHAM HILL, has already received consideration (p. 619), and its position on the Hampshire Avon has been noted (p. 621). On the evidence however of the tomb furniture of the pagan period Wilts, north or south, is no more than Hampshire or Dorset an early West Saxon region, and in these counties, as compared with the Thames Valley, the finds are few and poor. These facts are an instructive commentary on the theory based on the

Chronicle that brings the West Saxons up from the south coast, a theory that Sir Laurence Gomme finds a necessary corollary to his own view of London history.

The Thames in its upper reaches skirts Wiltshire on the north for some fifteen miles, but the river valley cemeteries that are pretty plentiful to the north of the stream are absent on the Wiltshire side till we find ourselves in the down country. This region of chalk and oolite uplands is intersected by the broad valley of the Bristol Avon and the narrow one of the Hampshire Avon, and over a large area of this especially in Wiltshire there are innumerable prehistoric tumuli. As is the case to a greater extent in the somewhat similar chalk country of the Yorkshire Wolds, and as is also the case on the downs of Sussex and the Isle of Wight, there are intrusive Anglo-Saxon burials in some of the earlier tumuli (p. 133).

For example, at AVENING in Gloucestershire, near Minchinhampton, occurs a characteristic example. Here was an extensive low circular tumulus, the central area of which to the extent of many square yards showed traces of cremation. Nearer the surface in the centre a skeleton had been buried, and round the circumference, outside the cremation area, were 'seven graves, each composed of large rough flagstones placed leaning against each other like the roof of a house, three or four forming the side of the grave.' In each grave there was a skeleton, but in one there were two lying head to feet. With the bones were many iron spear heads, iron buckles, and 'a small iron basin' that was evidently an umbo, and one skeleton had a bead necklace, indicating a female interment. The discovery was made in 1847.[1]

The *Wiltshire Magazine* has contained from time to time notices of a similar kind to that recorded about Avening in Gloucestershire, and these have recently been brought together in a valuable paper by the Rev. E. H. Goddard in vol. XXXVIII, 1914, entitled 'A List of Prehistoric, Roman,

[1] *Ass.*, IV, 1849, p. 50 f., and *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 1st Ser., I, 241.

and Pagan Saxon Antiquities in the County of Wilts.' Other notices are supplied in General Pitt Rivers's monumental work on Cranborne Chase.

What was probably an intrusive Saxon burial in a prehistoric tumulus in the churchyard of OGBOURNE ST. ANDREW, near Marlborough, has been illustrated Pl. XVIII, 2 (p. 177). In the upper part of a tumulus at the top of a hill above BROAD TOWN, near Wootton Bassett, there were found in 1834 an iron javelin head and an amber and a glass bead. On KING'S PLAY DOWN, Heddington, north of Devizes, there was opened in 1907 what appeared to be a Saxon grave in a barrow 24 ft. in diameter but only 1 ft. high. The well preserved skeleton of a man laid with feet to the east was pronounced by Dr. Beddoe on the evidence of the skull to be of Saxon character. Other possible examples of intrusive burials are noticed in the *Magazine*, VI, 332; X, 91, etc.; but more surely accredited are the secondary interments found in barrows on WINKLEBURY HILL, north of Cranborne Chase, by General Pitt Rivers.[1] Here moreover in proximity to the barrows were discovered numerous Anglo-Saxon graves of the ordinary kind with a certain amount of tomb furniture. In these 30 skeletons came to light in receptacles cut into the chalk at depths varying from 2 ft. to 2 ft. 6 in. 26 had feet to the east, 2 to the west, and it is particularly noted that these two were skeletons of children (p. 189). One skeleton only was in a contracted posture. There were no marks of cremation and no trace of coffins or of stone linings to the graves. Urns did not appear and the chief objects found were knives. There were however a couple of 'unica' in the form of two pierced bronze plates, as well as an iron buckle and some beads. The finds are in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Farnham, Dorset, and the pierced bronze plates, silvered, or perhaps tinned, 1⅝ in. in diameter, found at the waist of a skeleton and apparently fastened to

[1] *Cranborne Chase*, II, 257 f.

some circular object of wood, are curious and worthy of reproduction, Pl. CLVI, 9, 10. Not far from here a barrow by WOODYATES Inn produced a characteristic spear head and knife, another Woodyates barrow the ivory ring Pl. XCII, 1 (p. 400) and the mosaic pendant set in gold, Pl. CIII, 1g (p. 427) and a third a button brooch, Pl. LVIII, 6 (p. 315).

It may be noticed here that these burials on the borders of Wilts and Dorset represent the furthest recorded discoveries of cemeteries of the pagan period towards the south-west. Dorset hardly comes into our story at all, and the isolated objects representing Anglo-Saxon civilization which its soil has yielded up are mostly of the later period. This applies to a good specimen of the scramasax, in its Anglo-Saxon form, rather long, 12 in., and slender, with the straight cut down from the back to the point, as in the example Pl. XXVIII, 10, from London, of X (p. 228), which was found at Milton Abbas and is now in the Dorchester Museum. The fact is that the settlement of Dorset emphasized by the foundation of the bishopric of Sherborne in A.D. 705 belongs to the Christian period, in connection with which the region will be subsequently noticed.

After HARNHAM HILL, already noticed (p. 619 f.), the best Wiltshire cemetery is probably that at BASSET DOWN overlooking Swindon from the south-west. Here in 1822 operations in the grounds of a house occupied at a later date by N. Story Maskelyne, F.R.S., laid bare a number of skeletons, and in 1839 others came to light. Tomb furniture of the usual kind, embracing shields, spears, knives, fibulae, beads, etc., was in evidence. The domes of the umbos were of the concave shape described previously (p. 200). There were saucer brooches with star patterns over 2 in. in diameter. The most notable finds however were of certain objects of very early character including a spoon of Roman shape, a provincial-Roman fibula, a bronze hair pin with movable ring through the head, and above

all some small glass beads of elongated form and of the double and triple shape which generally betoken an early date. It is possible of course to regard the early fibula which was shown Pll. CLV, 12, 14 (p. 254) and the Roman or Romanizing spoon Pl. XCV, 4 (p. 407), as accidental survivals, but the former is a very interesting find and comparable with the early fibulae from Dorchester and from Kempston, Pll. XL, 6 (p. 259); CLV, 11 (p. 784). The small beads, the umbo, and perhaps the star pattern saucer brooch, are of early types, and hardly justify Mr. Leeds's relegation of the cemetery to a comparatively late period.[1]

MILDENHALL near Marlborough produced among other objects a couple of saucer brooches figured Pl. LVII, 4 (p. 313). The soil of SALISBURY itself and its neighbourhood has been somewhat fertile in Anglo-Saxon objects and there are specimens in the Salisbury Museum. Behind St. Edmund's Church a cemetery of 20 bodies has been found and some of those best acquainted with the local antiquities believe that there is evidence of racial conflicts in the finds in and about the town, the Britons being buried without furniture, the Saxons with their arms and ornaments about them. A good sword blade from CHARFORD, another from TOYD, a spear head from NETHER WALLOP just over the border in Hants, and arms from several local sites are in the Museum. WILTON, where the famous bronze bowl was found, Pl. CXVIII (p. 474) lies a little to the west of the city.

On SALISBURY RACE COURSE in a barrow where no interment was found several objects of interest were discovered, such as the inlaid stud, Pl. CXLVII, 9 (p. 537), the gold ring, Pl. CVIII, 3 (p. 455), an umbo, a bronze bowl, and some glass fragments. On RODMEAD DOWN there was found with a skeleton the interesting bronze bowl figured Pl. CXVI, 2 (p. 471) and also one of the tall conical umbos, nearly 7 in. high, of which specimens were shown, Pl. XXIII, 1, 3 (p. 199). At

[1] *The Archaeology*, etc., p. 52.

SHREWTON between Salisbury and Devizes the curious wheel-like bronze pendant was found, Pl. CVII, 2 (p. 449), and finally, near Devizes, on ROUNDWAY DOWN, was made the remarkable discovery of the inlaid pendants and the pin suite figured Pl. LXXXI, 2-4 (p. 371). They were with the skeleton of a lady who lay in a wooden chest bound with iron and oriented north and south. The interment was upon the chalk and the tumulus seemed to have been heaped above it, so that the burial was to all appearance primary and not intrusive.

The above list of scattered discoveries in the central down lands of Wiltshire might easily be extended. It might be mentioned for instance that in 1913, in excavating for some military building at the new aviation barracks at Choulson opposite Netheravon, some skeletons were found with which were an iron spear head and other objects of Anglo-Saxon character. Sufficient notice has however been taken of these discoveries to make their general character apparent. They are for the most part decidedly late, and come from scattered interments rather than from regular cemeteries. It is noteworthy that almost the only evidence of early date comes from the site at Basset Down House only 8 or 9 miles from the upper waters of the Thames, and therefore comparable with the riparian cemeteries to which we must now return.

On the other side of the main valley, in Oxfordshire, a different set of phenomena meet us. Riparian cemeteries are here numerous and important, both near the banks of the main stream and in the lateral valleys of the tributaries such as the Thame, the Cherwell, the Windrush. Further up the country, in inland Oxfordshire, the finds are more or less isolated, and resemble in this those in central Wilts that have just been noticed. The objects that have come to light here are of the normal West Saxon character, a few being of special interest such as the splendid scramasax at Bristol, Pl. XXVIII, 20 (p. 227), which came from KIDLINGTON up the valley of the

Cherwell. Cuddesdon, see below; WHEATLEY, whence the large late saucer brooch, Pl. LXIX, 1 (p. 343); WOOD PERRY, between the Thame and the Cherwell; SUMMERTOWN, WOOD EATON, ISLIP, UPPER HEYFORD, SOULDERN, which produced the bucket-mount Pl. CXIII, 4 (p. 464), on the Cherwell; HORNTON, in the northernmost corner of the county, where were found saucer brooches with spiral ornament and a handsome square headed fibula in the British Museum; YARNTON nearer to Oxford; YELFORD south of Witney; MINSTER LOVEL north-west of it, where a beautiful enamelled jewel of the later period was discovered; STANTON HARCOURT and COTE in the same region; DUCKLINGTON near by, where a child had worn round the neck a pendant bulla of Kentish type, make up a sufficient list of sites. To these may be added a site just over the border of Gloucestershire, near Stow-on-the-Wold, where at ODDINGTON, in 1787, a small tumulus was found to contain about half a dozen skeletons of both sexes, with which were characteristic objects of Anglo-Saxon tomb furniture, including a pair of well-preserved saucer brooches, the present location of which is unknown to the writer.

Most of these sites are indicated on Map No. v (p. 589) but space forbids any more reference to them, and attention must be now concentrated on the finds of special interest in the Thames-side burying grounds.

The riparian cemeteries of southern Oxfordshire are of the highest importance and the same may be said of the Gloucestershire site at Fairford which belongs to the same group.

OXFORD itself is not barren of finds, for the bed of the Cherwell at Magdalen Bridge yielded up an umbo of the shape represented in these Thames Valley cemeteries in which the dome has a concave sweep in its outline (p. 200). A similar umbo was found not far off at Hincksey.

The CUDDESDON cemetery, nearer to the Thame than the

Thames, is important, as the bodies are said to have been found arranged in a circle, with the heads outwards, lying on their faces, and with the legs crossed.[1] There were two swords, and the unique bronze pail figured Pl. CXIV, 3 (p. 467). The occurrence of a pair of blue glass vases one of which is singularly like that figured Pl. CXXVI, 2 (p. 485) from Broomfield, Essex, and of a fragment of garnet inlay, makes it likely that the cemetery dated c. 600 A.D. Above Oxford, from about Bablock Hythe, begins a more important and in some cases much earlier series. In some of these cemeteries the Thames Valley cremation is still in evidence, but Mr. Leeds has aptly remarked that the occurrence of the rite becomes rarer as we ascend the river 'so that it may be concluded that it was dying out while the Saxons were engaged in pushing their settlements further westwards.'[2] We have already seen reason to surmise that this may be applied also to settlements founded up lateral streams, where cremation is also comparatively rare, such settlements being as a rule, it would be natural to suppose, later than those in the main valley. The settlements up the Wandle however seem to have been early, but this tributary would be met with comparatively soon by those ascending the main river from the sea.

The exploration of the important cemeteries on neighbouring sites at STANDLAKE and BRIGHTHAMPTON was first reported on by J. Y. Akerman and Mr. Stephen Stone in the fifties of the last century, and subsequent notices have added to our knowledge of the sites.[3]

Discoveries of a casual kind embracing about 40 skeletons had been made in both localities from time to time for a generation previously, and the existence of cremation had been noted. Writing in 1857 Mr. Akerman reports that 'a considerable portion of the area excavated appears to have been

[1] *Arch. Journ.*, IV, 157. [2] *The Archaeology*, etc., p. 58.

[3] *Archaeologia*, XXXVII, 391 ; XXXVIII, 84 ; *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 1st Ser., IV, 70, 93, 213, 231, 329.

occupied by urns deposited just below the surface'[1] and 'scattered promiscuously among the graves.' One of these urns 'had contained the bones of a child, and was ornamented with a pattern common on the mortuary urns found in the northern counties.'[2] There were also examples of burials in a crouching posture, as of a woman of advanced age found in 1859,[3] with unmistakable Anglo-Saxon objects. At that time about 60 fresh graves had been opened,[4] and Brighthampton had already declared itself as a cemetery of warriors rich in arms, and one moreover presenting clear evidence of an early date. Four swords had come to light, and this is a large proportion in 60 graves. One male skeleton, grave 31, was reported by Professor Quequett to indicate a stature of not less than seven feet, and a sword lay here on the left side 'the pommel under the arm pit, and the left hand resting on the blade; near the hilt was discovered a large amber bead, probably the ornament of the sword knot. The chape of the scabbard was of bronze ornamented with figures of animals in gold.'[5] To the right of the head was a spear and above the left shoulder a bucket.

It is a remarkable feature of this discovery that near the hilt of the sword were found four bronze studs that looked like part of its fittings, and with them (*Arch.*, xxxviii, 96) 'a small cross patée of base silver,' the same metal used apparently for the mount of the scabbard mouth. The bearing of this on the date of the sword is obvious, see Pll. xxvii, 5-8 (p. 221); lix, 7 (p. 317). In a woman's grave, no. 22, with ten Roman coins of III and two saucer fibulae, was found a knife or small dagger in an ornamented sheath with incised patterns of a simple and early form, and these coins of III have been dwelt upon as conclusive evidence of an early date, say the middle of V.[6] The

[1] *Archaeologia*, xxxviii, 84. [2] *Archaeologia*, xxxviii, 87.
[3] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 1st Ser., iv, 329.
[4] i.e., over and above the 40 or more previously reported.
[5] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, l.c., 231. [6] ibid., xxi, 63.

cross patée found with the sword looks of course the other way, and reference may here be made to what was said previously (p. 223 f.) about this and the form of the sword hilt. A date in the first part of VI was there suggested for the warrior's burial.

In 1863 gravel pits were opened on the sites of these two cemeteries and further discoveries were made. At Standlake 26 graves were found, mostly devoid of tomb furniture, but a woman's grave was well supplied with trinkets, including two gold garnet-set pendants and an amethyst bead—both objects characteristic of Kent. In the same year at Brighthampton there was brought to light 'a mortuary urn containing calcined human bones, and among them a dish-shaped bronze fibula which had evidently been subjected to a considerable degree of heat.'[1]

The prevalence of arms has already been noted. Beneath one umbo 'the fingers of the hand were found, the three first encircling the iron bar by which the shield was held.'[2]

Under the head of ornaments the saucer and applied fibulae were as usual in this region in evidence. Mr. Thurlow Leeds reckons 15 in all to the credit of Brighthampton and one, perhaps two, to Standlake.

A bucket was found at Brighthampton in the grave of a child.[3]

Near to the eastern limit of the county the neighbouring sites of BROUGHTON POGGS and FILKINS, in this case somewhat further from the river, were explored about the same time as the last, and reported on by Mr. Akerman.[4] At Broughton Poggs 12 skeletons in all were exhumed, three of which were held to indicate a stature of over 6 ft. Two were laid feet to feet, one pointing east the other west. Another pointed to the south and a fourth to the north, so that theories of orientation must have sat lightly on the people of the place. Two pairs of fibulae, one saucer and one applied, were the

[1] *Proc.*, 2nd Ser., II, 443. [2] *Arch.*, XXXVII, 395. [3] l.c., p. 391.
[4] *Archaeologia*, XXXVII, 140 f.; *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 1st Ser., IV, 73.

chief objects of note, and one pair, at Liverpool, is shown Pl. LXVIII, 2, 4 (p. 341).

At FILKINS 15 graves were opened, at a depth, 6 in., so slight as to suggest the previous existence of tumuli. The cemetery was close to the village, and it is to be noted that no effort seems to have been made to seek for a more elevated position for these cemeteries on the higher ground which rises here to the north. A sword was found in company with a spear, and 8 saucer and applied fibulae, one of the former being shown Pl. LXVIII, 3 (p. 341). Here the feet were generally to the east, though in grave 5, a furnished one, a child's skeleton was placed with feet to the north (p. 189), and in grave 13, an unfurnished one, a female skeleton was also so placed. Many of the objects found on these two sites were incorporated with the Mayer-Faussett collection in the Liverpool Museum.

The last of these Thames Valley cemeteries is the classic one at FAIRFORD in Gloucestershire about six miles from Broughton Poggs, and like so many of this group of sites it is on a lateral stream the Coln, some five miles above its junction with the Isis. The historical questions raised by the position of Fairford taken in connection with its apparent date and its proximity to the Romano-British Cirencester have been already discussed (pp. 52 f., 645) and need not be further noticed.

FAIRFORD cemetery forms the subject of a well-known book by William Michael Wylie, F.S.A.,[1] who resided in the place from 1847. The remains were found in a field to the west of the little town 'on the summit of the bank that gently slopes to the meadows of the Coln.' No tumuli were apparent but the ground had probably once been ploughed, and the shallowness of the interments with other indications seemed to show that tumuli may once have been present. Quarrying operations in 1844-5, and again from 1850 onwards, led to the discoveries. At the first date 36 skeletons were enumer-

[1] *Fairford Graves*, Oxford, John Henry Parker, 1852.

ated, though the number was probably greater, but the objects found with them were scattered. In 1850–1 Mr. Wylie watched and reported on the excavations, and at the conclusion of his book he expressed his conviction that many more interments remained to be discovered both in further portions of the cemetery itself and also on other sites in the vicinity. The graves opened up to the close of 1851 numbered 130-40 and represented both sexes and all ages. Cremation was apparently represented though very sparingly, but Mr. Wylie stated in another connection 'several instances of cremation came under my own immediate observation.'[1] In one place there occurred a plain coarse earthenware vase of the same type as the ones shown Pl. cxxxviii, 7, 8 (p. 505), which contained the ashes of a child (p. 189).[2] This was however apparently surrounded with debris of pottery, bones, animals' teeth, etc., that bore traces of the fire. Similar appearances were found elsewhere and may betoken the funeral feast. In one such case where 'rites, perhaps sacrificial' are suggested, p. 29, a coarse earthen vessel with 'a vandyked pattern on it,' that might be Anglo-Saxon 'had contained bones.' A remarkable interment, p. 28, had, above, 'three small vessels of thin common red ware, filled with burnt bones' and by them a small female skeleton, with a bronze armlet round the arm bone and some beads by the hips, while underneath, at a depth of 3½ ft., was a male skeleton with which was nothing but 'some animal's teeth and a Roman tile.' This grave was treated exceptionally by being walled in at the sides with stone slabs after the fashion of some of the graves at Frilford (p. 648). A large quantity of pottery apparently of Roman date was found in a fragmentary condition suggesting to the reporter the custom of casting sherds upon a grave referred to in Shakespeare's lines relating to Ophelia. Fragments of 'Samian' ware were among them, and there was a Roman potter's stamp. These indications seem to show that the site had

[1] *Archaeologia*, xxxvii, 472. [2] *Fairford Graves*, p. 24 and pl. vii, fig. 2.

been used for interments in pre-Saxon days. Nothing is said about the use of coffins, but these are apparently unknown in the Thames Valley though they occur in Wilts. As the wood work of a bucket, p. 20, was found partly preserved, wooden coffins would certainly have left a trace.

In the matter of orientation we learn with some surprise that the skeletons were as a rule interred with feet towards the north. The east and west orientation occurred exceptionally in one case. The usual remarks are made as to the large size of some of the bones.

As regards indications of date we have Mr. Wylie's words 'these Fairford graves . . . would seem to bear a very early date,' p. 22. Among the finds are saucer brooches of early type, one, Pl. LVII, 1 (p. 313), located as early as the end of V.[1] A knobby horse trapping, Pl. c, 2 (p. 423), is of an early type, and equally suggestive is a fivefold pearly glass bead of small diameter, figured in Mr. Wylie's pl. IV, that reminds us of similar beads of early type, Pl. CVI, 5, 6 (p. 445 f.). Nothing definitely Christian appears to have come to light.

Among the weapons there were two swords and spear heads of the usual types and of course knives, but no scramasaxes or axe heads. The dome of the umbos is worthy of notice. They differ from those of the ordinary mammiform type in that the upper part which is usually of a flattened domical form rises here in the concave curve, Pl. XXIII, 4 (p. 199).

The category ornaments is headed by the saucer and applied brooches, of which Mr. Leeds catalogues no fewer than 31.[2] They are of different designs some early and some later, as Pl. LVII, 7 (p. 313). There were also the usual plain bronze disc and quoit brooches and one or two small square headed ones, with one of a distinct cruciform type possessing the three fixed knobs and a flat expanding tail, closely resembling the Shepperton example shown Pl. CLVI, 6 (p. 635). There

[1] *Archaeologia*, LXIII, 166. [2] l.c., p. 197.

were also two of the large ornate square headed pattern about 6 in. long. A small bird fibula and a couple of little button ones are recorded. A little rectangular plaque with a central garnet and zoomorphic ornament around it is almost exactly the same as one found in Kent. Beads, chiefly of the later ornate type, were sufficiently abundant, and there were about 150 beads or perforated pieces of amber.

Vessels were represented by a claw glass vase, some mounted buckets and a beaten bronze bowl with edge turned over and brought up in a tongue at each side to form attachments for a handle, of which a counterpart was found at Croydon, Pl. CXVII, 3 (p. 473). Pottery, except in the form of sherds, was conspicuous by its absence. 'Very few urns were found at Fairford, and these of a common description,' p. 23, note.

With Fairford may be taken some finds at KEMBLE, on the other side of Cirencester and rather nearer the Roman city. There were 26 interments and all the bodies were laid east and west at a depth of only 6 in.[1] A bronze stepped spoon may have been a Roman survival, and we can compare it with the similar piece from Basset Down, Wilts, Pl. XCV, 4 (p. 407). This spoon with other objects from Kemble are in the Museum at Liverpool. The finds resemble those from Fairford in that objects of early and of late appearance may be singled out. A pair of saucer brooches with the star pattern might be quite early, though it is true that this pattern is very persistent (p. 315), while on the other hand another pair resembled those from Buckinghamshire, showing debased geometrical ornament on a large scale, after the fashion of the piece figured Pl. LVIII, 1 (p. 315). There were also the bases of two applied brooches.

After his capture of the three Romano-British cities Ceawlin, whom the *Chronicle* credits with taking many 'tuns'

[1] *Archaeologia*, XXXVII, 113.

and countless booty, seems to have carried his arms victoriously towards the west and north, and the rest of Gloucestershire, Worcestershire and perhaps the south-western part of Warwickshire, became as we have seen Teutonized as the domain of the people called Hwiccas. The Britons still offered a stubborn resistance, and seven years after the victory of Deorham they checked the West Saxon advance in an important action at the place called 'Fethanleag,' on which something has previously been said (p. 617), after which Ceawlin 'returned in wrath to his own.' Whether, as J. R. Green supposed, the Teutonic invaders penetrated on the occasion of this campaign as far up the Severn valley as Viroconium which sank under their onslaught in fire, we cannot say, and we must await any light that may be thrown on this obscure period by the excavation of that great ruined city which is now in progress. At present the whole of the region indicated above is singularly poor in archaeological evidence of early movements and settlements of the West Saxons. Monuments of the later Anglo-Saxon period in the form of churches and carved stones and portable objects are not wanting, but the place for the discussion of these is not here. What we have in view at present are the cemeteries of the pagan period, of which the Thames Valley has offered to us so many examples. In the wide districts to the north and west of the head of the Thames Valley no extended cemeteries of the kind are known to exist. These districts could not of course begin to receive Teutonic settlers till after the campaign of 577, and we do not know for how long or in what directions the British reaction seven years later checked the progress of Teutonic colonization. The promulgation of Christianity in VII in any case militated against the traditional practice of furnishing the grave, and regions which were settled late could hardly be expected to offer much archaeological material of this kind. To come again into a region of pagan cemeteries we have to turn from the Severn valley backwards towards the Midlands,

along the main track marked out by the course of the Warwickshire Avon.

Writing in 1910 the Worcestershire antiquary whose tract is noted below[1] was not able to enumerate more than four 'places in the County of Worcester where Anglo-Saxon remains of the pagan period have been found.' Ascending the Severn valley from Gloucester and following its tributary the Warwickshire Avon, we find NORTON BY BREDON, between Bredon Hill and the river; BRICKLEHAMPTON and LITTLE HAMPTON in the Vale of Evesham, and UPTON SNODSBURY a few miles east of Worcester on the Bow Brook a tributary of the Avon. At all these places there have been finds, slight in extent but significant, and the remains discovered are to be seen in the City Museum, Victoria Institute, Worcester. At BREDONS NORTON there were four iron shield bosses, four spear heads, a knife, and a sword with part of a bronze mounted scabbard, also a couple of amber beads. From LITTLE HAMPTON there came a skeleton with a sword,[2] and the gold ornament with double pins fastened by a chain, now in the British Museum and figured Pl. LXXXI, 1 (p. 371). BRICKLEHAMPTON produced an amber bead, a blue glass bead of the familiar 'melon' pattern, and a perforated tooth probably the canine of a wolf that was no doubt a pendant.

UPTON SNODSBURY was more productive and rendered up a sword, six spear heads, a late cruciform, two small long, and two saucer brooches, two crystal spindle whorls, or it may be sword pommels, and a necklace of 110 beads, with a string of 21 beads, and others of amber.

Nearly all these objects may be early. The number of arms, three swords out of four finds, and numerous spears, the melon shaped bead regarded always as Roman, the gold pins

[1] F. T. Spackman, F.G.S., 'On Some Anglo-Saxon Antiquities from Bricklehampton in the County of Worcester,' in *Associated Societies' Reports*, XXX, 1910.

[2] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd Ser., III, 27.

with the pendant which Mr. Reginald Smith counts Roman or Romano-British, are all objects that fit the pagan period, though for reasons given above (p. 425 f.) the last named item has here been relegated to VII. The Upton Snodsbury finds make an interesting set. See Pl. XLV, 4 (p. 269).

Further up the Avon valley but now in Warwickshire, and always in the neighbourhood of the river or on a tributary,[1] finds of some significance have come to light. On the Avon just over the border BIDFORD has enriched the collection at Worcester with two saucer brooches of a type belonging to the West Saxon area,[2] while on its tributary, the Arrow, a few miles to the north in RAGLEY PARK, a find of some importance produced one of the ornate square-headed brooches, 7 in. long, the general habitat of which is the Anglian region to the north and east. It must be remembered that two specimens of the same type were found at Fairford, but in view of the comparative frequency of its occurrence in the Anglian midlands its appearance at Ragley Park may be symptomatic of the meeting between Angle and Saxon which can be located somewhere in this region. The Ragley Park find included also some fibulae of the radiating type (p. 256). Nearer to the county town, in LONGBRIDGE Park, on a slightly sloping bank of river gravel on the north bank of the Avon, a number of skeletons were laid bare the arrangement of which was so irregular that some thought it betokened hasty interment after a battle. Ornaments in abundance were however found and it is clear that the two sexes were represented in the cemetery. There was a sword with other arms, bronze mounted buckets, and a glass funnel-shaped vessel. The brooches included one florid cruciform specimen 7¼ in. long of the latest and most debased style of ornamentation figured Pl. LXIX, 3 (p. 343), and several saucer brooches with star patterns, spirals, and

[1] In Warwickshire, 'sepulchral relics of the pagan period are confined to the valley of the Avon,' *Victoria History*, Warwick, I, 251.

[2] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd Ser., III, 424.

debased zoomorphic motives. A bracteate 2 in. in diameter, probably imported from Scandinavia, made its appearance. There was also a so-called 'girdle hanger' an object which we have not once had occasion to signalize in the West Saxon area but which is abundant in the Anglian regions.

WARWICK itself furnished the fine ornate square-headed fibula, called the 'St. Nicholas' or 'Myton' brooch, Pl. LXVIII, 6 (p. 340), and the immense faceted crystal Pl. XCIII, 4 (p. 406). Beyond Warwick the river Avon and its tributary the Leam soon take us into regions where the characteristic Anglian objects make their appearance especially in the form of the cruciform fibula and the girdle hanger, and where we meet again with the rite of cremation which we had left behind in the valley of the Thames. Marton near the Leam (p. 775), half way between Leamington and Rugby, with its late example of cremation, may be regarded as an Anglian overlap on the West Saxon side of the actual watershed. The same may be said about PRINCETHORPE the site of a supposed Roman station on the northern bank of the Leam, where with an open socketed spear head and other objects there was found a 'long' brooch of pronounced Anglian type 5 in. in length and terminating in a conventional horse's head.[1] On the other hand finds at OFFCHURCH in the same neighbourhood have more of a Saxon character. They are in private hands but are noticed and in part figured in the *Victoria History*, Warwick, I, coloured plate.[2] It must be noted at the same time that Princethorpe was the place of discovery of the round jewelled stud in the Rugby Museum, Pl. CXLVII, 8, which is of Kentish character.

[1] Figured in *Coll. Ant.*, I, pl. xix.

[2] See also *Ass.*, XXXII, 466.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SOUTH SAXON AND JUTISH SETTLEMENTS IN SUSSEX, KENT, AND HAMPSHIRE

THE SOUTH SAXONS IN SUSSEX

IT WAS explained in Chapter XI (p. 582) that the greater part of Saxonized England can be divided into three main areas bounded by the watersheds of the principal rivers mostly flowing towards the east, but that there are other smaller self-contained districts independent of the great river systems and readily accessible from the sea. One of these is Sussex, another Kent, and a third the Isle of Wight. The archaeology of the settlements in these three regions forms the subject of the present chapter. See Maps Nos. V, VI (pp. 589, 691).

The first to be noticed is Sussex, the southern or maritime portion of which formed the Kingdom of the South Saxons. The physical characteristics of the district, when viewed from the sea, are such as to make it an attractive place of settlement while they isolate it from neighbouring regions. The South Downs, rising to an average height of about 400 to 600 ft., in their course of about 50 miles from Beachy Head to beyond Chichester, leave between themselves and the sea a strip of littoral that gradually broadens from east to west and was in Roman days a mile or so wider than it is at present. The littoral offers good agricultural land, and it is backed by the comparatively bare and waterless slopes of the downs, that give passage however to several streams which afford along their banks favourable sites for settlement. These streams,

the modern Arun, Adur, Ouse and Cuckmere, with the runlets that now intersect the spacious levels inland from Pevensey, were in Roman days extensive inlets of the sea such as still form Chichester Harbour with its feeders. In a recent paper in vol. LIII of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, the writer, Mr. A. Ballard, on the basis of old maps and records, coupled with known hydrographical facts, the existence of inland salt-pans, etc., has constructed a map of ancient Sussex, in which the waterways into the interior of the country, bringing salt water even to Pulborough and to Lewes, stand invitingly open to maritime invaders.

The down region penetrated by these inlets averages about 4½ miles in width and ends to the north in a steep escarpment overlooking the woodland region of the Weald. The escarpment is however not so sudden as not to leave open and habitable lower slopes north of the downs between them and the actual weald, slopes where there is evidence of early settlements. The weald itself was almost wholly covered in pre-conquest days by the vast forest of Andred—still represented by the woodland regions of St. Leonards, Tilgate, Worth, and other 'forests'—which in the time of King Alfred[1] was reckoned to extend from Portus Lemanis near Hythe westwards for 112 miles with a breadth of about 30, and the Domesday map of Sussex shows that in XI the whole northern half of the county with the southern part of Surrey was very sparsely inhabited save along the course of the above mentioned streams. The present parishes in this wealden region are very large while those in the southern zone are small and proportionately numerous, which gives an idea of the distribution of the inhabitants at the time of the ecclesiastical settlement of the country. A scrutiny of the place names reveals a contrast between the 'folds' and the 'hursts' of the woodland region and the characteristic Saxon settlement names of the parts nearer the coast. Mr. J. H.

[1] *A.-S. Chronicle*, ad ann. 893.

Round, in a paper on place names as illustrating the Teutonic settlement,[1] distinguishes the later '-hurst' '-ley' and '-den' from the early 'hams' and 'tons' which mark the first establishment of groups of the new immigrants, and he notices that in this respect Sussex shows far more early place names than Essex, '-ham' being most frequent round the coast and up the river valleys. It might be added that Sussex is particularly rich in the names ending with 'ing' without a suffix like 'ham' or 'ton,' on which Kemble had a theory noticed previously, Vol. I, p. 68. Without accepting Kemble's theory we may yet safely reckon that these 'ing' names carry with them evidence of early date. Between the northern slopes of the downs and the sea there may be counted on the present map about thirty of these, while there is barely one in the whole of the woodland district of the Weald. As we shall presently see, the finds of Anglo-Saxon antiquities correspond in their general location with the settlement names, and show that the early Teutonic population was confined to the more maritime regions south of the Weald. If it were thus cut off from the north, physical conditions isolated it also to the east and to the west. In the former direction the South Saxon kingdom was separated by the Andreds-weald and by the lagoons and marshes of the Romney region from Kent, while to the west the inlets of the sea by Chichester and Havant, running nearly up to the downs, form an equally effective barrier in the direction of Hants.

The country thus bounded is represented as passing into the hands of the Teutons through a course of events of which we have a consistent and plausible account in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles. It was the earliest settlement ascribed to the Saxons, as distinct from the Jutes of Kent and Hampshire, and dates from 477, when a chieftain named Ælla landed with the crews of three ships at a place supposed to be at the

[1] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd Ser., XVI, 84.

western end of the littoral.[1] The capture of the Roman city Regnum must necessarily have preceded their permanent establishment in this region, and the name by which the city was afterwards known, Cissan Ceaster, is stated, possibly with truth, to have been derived from one of Ælla's sons, Cissa.[2] In 485 we hear of a great battle between the invaders, now doubtless strongly reinforced, and the Britons, on one of the rivers up the valley of which the former were probably forcing their way. Some time later, in 491, fourteen years after the original descent, the second of the Roman stations in Sussex the strong fortress of Anderida was taken, and perhaps because its resistance had incensed the assailants, all the inhabitants were put to the sword. This victory established the South Saxons in possession of their kingdom, and Ælla's military distinction was such that according to Bede[3] he exercised a sort of hegemony among the Teutonic chieftains in general, being the first to hold the vaguely defined office of Bretwalda.

We have here the story of an invasion carried to successful issue after a severe struggle by a band of complete strangers forcing their way in by arms among an alien and hostile population. That the tradition of the settlement took this form is not a little notable. The region we must remember was part of the 'Litus Saxonicum,' and the invaders as Saxons

[1] Mr. Ballard, l.c., p. 8, adduces Keynor, inland from Selsea, as 'a name which is an obvious contraction of the "Cymenshora" of the *A.-S. Chron.* (A.D. 477) and of the "Cumneshora" of the Selsea charter of 683 (Birch, Cart. Sax., No. 64) and marks the traditional landing place' of the invaders. The charter is of course not genuine, but can still, as in similar cases, be used *quantum valet* as evidence.

[2] Some scholars exhibit an almost morbid suspicion of all these personal explanations of names of places that are furnished by documents like the *Anglo Saxon Chronicles,* but after all is it not a recognized fact that the place names of Anglo-Saxon England as a whole are largely formed from the names of individuals? See Vol. I, p. 72 f.

[3] *Hist. Eccl.*, ii, 5.

might on a priori grounds be reckoned a section of the adventurous sea-rovers who had infested the North Sea and the Channel for at least a hundred and fifty years and had settled in more than one region of Gaul. See Maps II, III, IV (pp. 573-75-81). In the nature of things one would expect them to have been no strangers to this attractive littoral, and had we no definite notices of the descent and conquest of 477-491 we should incline to the theory which makes the 'Litus Saxonicum' so called on account of the actual infiltration through an extended period of Saxon settlers. This view of the much debated phrase certainly derives no support from such traditional information as we possess about the origin of the South Saxon kingdom. Nor, as we shall see, is it borne out by archaeological evidence. None of the finds of Teutonic character that have been made in the district suggest a date earlier than the last quarter of V, which tradition as we have just seen assigns for the first entry of the invaders.

The history of this kingdom witnesses to the character of isolation impressed by the nature of the district on all its successive groups of inhabitants from pre-historic times.[1] Ælla's position as Bretwalda seems opposed to this, but Professor Oman suggests [2] that his leadership was acknowledged at the special epoch when the different bodies of invaders had to draw their forces together to resist the British rally under Ambrosius Aurelianus. After this time the isolation of the South Saxons seems an established fact, and Eddius in his Life of Wilfrid [3] says that their kingdom was 'aliis provinciis inexpugnabilis' on account of its numerous cliffs and the density of its woods. For this reason it had as a whole continued pagan till the visit to it of Wilfrid in 681. In its political relations it remained technically as well as practically independent for more than a hundred years, but early in VII

[1] *Vict. Hist.*, Sussex, I, p. 2.

[2] *England Before the Norman Conquest*, Lond., 1910, p. 222.

[3] *Historians of the Church of York*, Rolls Series, 71/1, p. 57.

it became subordinate to its powerful neighbour Wessex. It continued however to have its own rulers and virtually to manage its own affairs till the time of the unification of England under Ecgbert. In all matters of culture accordingly we may assume that anything which was specifically South Saxon at the time of the establishment of the kingdom remained South Saxon through the ensuing centuries, and from this point of view it is to be regarded as a separate province independent alike of Wessex, and of the Jutish regions that originally bordered it on the west as well as on the east. A hypothetical connection with the Saxon settlers in Surrey, which Mr. Reginald Smith shows to be suggested by archaeological facts, will be noticed in the sequel (p. 689 f.).

The distribution of the known South Saxon cemeteries corresponds with the general view of the Teutonic settlement of the region which has now been outlined. Upon the Map, No. v (p. 589), ten sites are named, but, as the repetition of the sign 'etc.' will indicate, one name, such as that of 'Lewes,' may cover several distinct sites of pagan interment. To the east of Pevensey no pagan cemeteries have as yet come to light, though a later Saxon burial in connection with a church is evidenced by the interesting ornamented grave slab of the period in the church at Bexhill. The down country between Eastbourne and Lewes is well supplied with cemeteries, though the most important of all the sites is further west, at High Down, above Worthing (p. 143). The cemeteries are as a rule upon high ground but as was noticed in the Chapter on the Cemetery (p. 144) there is one notable exception in the case of the important site between Kingston-by-Lewes and Southover, the western suburb of the county town. The cemetery here, in the grounds of the house called Saxonbury, is not far above the Lewes and Brighton railway line, though beyond Kingston sites of far greater elevation readily offer themselves. On the other hand on the other side of Lewes and on the downs at the back of Beachy Head several elevated sites have yielded traces

of burials, and there are indications in these parts of a continuity in burial customs with the older inhabitants of the land. Tumuli of the Bronze Age exist in some abundance on the chalk downs round Lewes where the Saxons afterwards interred their own dead, and the existence of the earlier barrows may have suggested a continuance of the custom of mound burial. In 20 to 30 burials on 4 sites the Anglo-Saxon interments were under grave mounds or tumuli, and it has been noticed that the Saxon barrows are smaller than the Bronze Age ones and are within sight of the places of settlement while the latter are further away among the downs. On a site upon high ground between Glynde and Ringmer to the east of Lewes the Teutonic immigrants had possibly made use of an older burying place, for between two of the Saxon graves were found seven cinerary urns containing cremated bones, that may have been of earlier date.

An interesting site now within the limits of Eastbourne is furnished by a ridge about 100 ft. above the sea that once overlooked the since obliterated haven of Hydney. To the north of Eastbourne the ground now traversed by the railway is very flat and was originally an inlet of the sea that reached nearly to Polegate. Out of it rose one or two slight elevations, islands or 'eyes,' of which one was Horsey, a little inland from the sea not far from the gas works, and another Hydney, a little north-east of the present Hampden Park station. What is now the residential suburb of Upperton and the elevated ground from there to Willingdon, overlooking these flats, contained extensive Anglo-Saxon burying grounds. The Mill Field, the name of which survives in Mill Road, furnished many remains.

Except in the case of the mound burials just noticed, in nearly all these cemeteries the laying out of the area and the mode of interment were practically the same. The graves were as a rule cut through the upper soil till the chalk was reached, upon which, sometimes in a slight sinking, the body

was laid. No traces of the use of a coffin of wood in inhumed burials have been observed, nor, save in the case of the tumulus burials, of any above-ground memorial. At High Down (p. 177), and also on the ridge just mentioned above Hydney Haven, the graves were so regularly spaced that some temporary memorials of a perishable material such as wood seem to be suggested. As regards orientation, the east and west position was almost universal; about 80 out of 86 at High Down, 29 out of 32 at Saxonbury, lay like this, and about the same proportions seem to have obtained on other sites. Where the east and west orientation was not observed the body was nearly always laid with its feet to the north. Cases of the crouching position are very rare, but there was at least one each at High Down and Saxonbury.

Grave furniture was generally though not universally found, and a rich archaeological treasure was furnished by cemeteries such as High Down and Alfriston. Even in these more amply furnished burying grounds however there were many graves that had no object in them or perhaps only a knife. Whole cemeteries such as one above Glynde near Lewes yielded practically nothing more than these most ubiquitous of objects. Out of 86 graves opened at High Down 25 contained no relics, and the same is true of 8 out of the 32 at Saxonbury, and of 40 among the 115 at Alfriston (p. 170).

It will be gathered from the foregoing that the rule of burial among the South Saxons was inhumation. The rule is not quite so absolute as it is among the Jutes of Kent and Hampshire where no fully attested case of cremation is known, but it is to such extent the prevailing rule that apparent exceptions need careful treatment. It may be premised that the survival of the practice of cremation among some of the invaders of the Saxon stock is attested beyond the shadow of a doubt by the discoveries in the Thames Valley already noticed (see p. 583, note 3). The idea that cremation in this

country was non-Saxon and only Anglian is now proved untenable, and there is therefore no reason to deny the possibility of cremation in Sussex. At the same time the absence of it from the other south coast counties, and the complete dearth of examples in extensive Sussex cemeteries, such as Alfriston and Saxonbury, makes it necessary to exercise due caution before the presence of the rite can be held attested. On the Map, No. v (p. 589), two sites in Sussex are marked for cremation sites Hassocks and High Down. The former lies at the back or northern foot of the downs and is in the foreground of the well-known prospect from the Devil's Dyke behind Brighton.[1] It is not in the wealden district proper but just off the foot slope of the downs below their bold escarpment, and the early place names Ditchling, Poynings, Percing and Fulking[2] can be read close by upon the map, and the fact that there was a Roman villa near by, beside Danny Park, shows that the place was in early times accessible and attractive. Here at Hassocks have been found two Roman wells contiguous with a sandpit. Investigations in these have rewarded Mr. Couchman with Roman remains such as fragments of 'Samian' ware, coins, fibulae, a bronze cock or duck encrusted with enamel, and other unmistakable objects of the kind. In the sandpit have been brought to light at different times before and after 1900 a collection of Anglo-Saxon arms, embracing sword blades, spear heads, knives, a characteristic umbo, etc., and about two dozen urns at least four of which contained cremated bones. Are these urns, like the iron weapons, of Anglo-Saxon origin?

They are not unmistakable 'Anglian' urns. Specimens of these have come to light in South Saxon cemeteries, as at

[1] In all that relates to the Hassocks site the writer acknowledges with thanks the help he has received from Mr. J. Edwin Couchman of Dene Place, Hurstpierpoint, who has made a thorough study of the local antiquities.

[2] In Domesday Dicelinges (Diceninges), Poninges, Percinges, Fochinges.

Alfriston and High Down Pl. CXXXVII, 1, 4 (p. 501), but none of them have been found with burnt bones in them. The Hassocks urns are of the plain unadorned kind, but some of them are such as are found often enough in assured Anglo-Saxon surroundings both empty and with bones, see the examples on Pl. CXXXVIII. Two Hassocks cremation urns are shown Pl. CLVI, 4, 5 (p. 623). One, No. 4, is of a character quite common in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, and would be accepted at once at its face value as of our period. No. 5 is not of a normal Anglo-Saxon type and by itself could not claim recognition, but it is at the same time quite a possible form. Of the bones in these urns it is reported that they are small and the skull bones thin. Some of the urns also are quite small, No. 4 being only $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. high, and there is good ground for the suggestion that the cremated remains are those of children. If this be the case it is in favour of the view that we have here genuine instances of South Saxon incineration for as we have seen (p. 189) children seem at times to have been buried in more archaic fashion than their elders and betters.

In the second case, that of Ringmer, there were Saxon inhumed bodies between two of which 'were found seven urns, of the ordinary very badly burnt black pottery. . . . These were quite plain and filled with burnt bones. . . . Unfortunately, the urns were crushed into such small fragments that it was found impossible to restore more than one of them.' The writer of the above sentences,[1] a wary and experienced excavator, had no doubt at the time that the cremated burials were as much Saxon as the others, but on the other hand it is perhaps safer to regard them, as is the case in the *Victoria History*, as pre-Saxon.

The case of High Down also presents difficulties. In the original report of the excavations in *Archaeologia*, LIV, LV, the burials are all exhibited as inhumed, but objects such as

[1] A. F. Griffith, M.A., in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, XXXIII.

brooches were found distorted by heat under conditions that are best explained on the assumption that the rite of cremation was in some cases employed. Mr. Leeds has no doubt that High Down was a partly cremation cemetery.[1] On the whole it has been thought best to mark these two sites as evidence of cremation but to use a dotted underline instead of a full one, to indicate, as will be done in the case of a Kentish site, that the evidence is not wholly conclusive.

The cemeteries are enumerated from west to east.

According to a private communication quoted in the *Victoria History*, Sussex, I, p. 346, 'several Anglo-Saxon barrows' were opened in 1893-4 on the downs not far from ARUNDEL. Nothing was found but two iron knives and a bronze pin with the skeletons, but these seem to have been Teutonic and the existence of tumuli is to be noted.

In the cemetery on the top of HIGH DOWN above Worthing the commanding position of which has been signalized (p. 142 f.) the graves, of which there was no external indication (p. 177), were accidentally discovered in the course of planting operations undertaken in 1892 by Mr. Edwin Henty of Ferring Grange. Most of the objects found are preserved by Mr. Henty at his house, and he kindly permitted the photographs reproduced on these plates to be taken by the writer. A report on the discoveries was furnished by Sir Hercules Read to *Archaeologia*, LIV, LV, but prior to his undertaking the supervision of the work in 1893-4 other graves had been opened without any accurate record, so that an addition must be made to the 86 interments noted in the report, and at least 100 may safely be assumed. The graves were dug through the supersoil to depths varying from 2 ft. 6 in. to about 5 ft., and the bodies were laid on the chalk subsoil without any coffins. Almost all the bodies were oriented with the feet to the east and with one or two

[1] *The Archaeology*, etc., p. 46.

exceptions were laid straight out upon their backs. Both sexes were represented, and about 10 per cent. of the graves were of young persons, this fact and the regularity and careful nature of the interments indicating a community in peaceable occupation of the district. The men were of tall stature many seeming to average about 6 ft.

On a general survey of the tomb furniture the reporter dated the cemetery about the close of VI. It certainly belonged to the pagan period of South Saxon history, and this sufficiently shows that eastward orientation is not necessarily Christian. The appearance of the cross on the engraved glass vase shown Pl. CXXVIII, 1 (p. 487), does not invalidate this, for this imported object may have come to pagan Britain from some continental region already Christianized.

As indications of date, a small Roman urn, Roman coins pierced for suspension, a blue 'melon' bead, and a bronze head of a faun, Roman or copied from a Roman original, are not of great significance for this part of the country was thoroughly romanized and objects of the kind must have been numerous. Of greater importance in this respect was one of the so-called romanizing objects in bronze discussed in Chapter X (p. 548 f.), for these are certainly early and at the same time of Teutonic make. The piece in question, a belt ornament, is given Pl. CLV, 2 (p. 563). A pair of 'bird' fibulae set with garnets is also early, and a penannular brooch shown Pl. L, 2 (p. 285), suggests Romano-British associations.

Among the weapons figured an angon, two swords, and the spear heads shown Pl. XXXI, 1 (p. 235).

The ornaments comprised a good collection of fibulae, square headed, quoit and annular, and above all of the saucer and button type, for these together with the collection of glass vessels formed the most significant feature of the inventory. Of saucer fibulae there were about half a dozen pairs of small size about 1¼ in. in diameter, as well as a pair of button ones adorned with the usual full face.

Twelve graves all apparently of males contained urns of clay, one of which was Roman. In form and ornamentation many of them showed the special 'Anglian' character, and there was nothing resembling the bottle shaped urns of Kent. The glass was of special excellence and interest, and included the unique inscribed vase Pl. CXXVIII, 1 (p. 487), the beautiful beaker Pl. CXXVII, 1, and the funnel shaped vase No. 2 on the same plate, with half a dozen other pieces.

Discoveries small in extent but of much interest were made in 1883-4 on a height 200 ft. above the sea over the BRIGHTON railway station and looking down on Preston Park. About 6 skeletons were found, well supplied with arms in the form of shields, the thickness of the wood of which could be seen to be $\frac{3}{4}$ in., spears and a sword. Of one shield we are told that it covered the breast of a skeleton and 'some of the bones of the hand were under the boss when discovered. One small bone of the finger was still adhering to the edge, and upon the edge the impression of the grain of the wood was distinctly visible in the rust.'[1] The abundant arms betoken an early, that is a pagan, date and it is noteworthy that the bodies were laid with the feet to the north (p. 160 f.). Some of the objects, including the spear head with closed socket Pl. XXXII, 4 (p. 235), are in the Brighton Museum.

At PORTSLADE a few arms were found with bodies in 1898 and are in Lewes Castle Museum.

We pass over here the discoveries at the back of the downs at HASSOCKS as they have already been dealt with (p. 678 f.).

Next comes the fruitful district about LEWES, which lies on one of the streams that find their way through the barrier of the South Downs and give access from the sea to the interior of the country. The most prolific of several sites in the neighbourhood is that of SAXONBURY, near KINGSTON, where in 1891 a cemetery was found that yielded 32 graves

[1] D. B. Friend's *Brighton Almanack*, 1885, p. 166.

in an area of about 130 by 50 ft. The site has been described (pp. 144, 675) and the record of the discoveries is contained in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol. XXXVIII. The graves were sunk slightly in the chalk subsoil and with the following exceptions the bodies were lying supine with feet to the east:—no. 1 was in a contracted position on the right side, nos. 5 and 6 had the feet respectively to north-east and to north.

As at Brighton, arms were a special feature in the tomb inventory and this suggests an early date, while no late indications appeared. The three swords found are figured Pl. XXV, 2 (p. 209). The objects recovered, which are in the Museum of the Sussex Archaeological Society, Barbican House, Lewes, include some pieces of special interest such as the bronze pendant with the figure of a bird Pl. IX, 7 (p. 103), the half of an ornate bronze wrist clasp Pl. LXXVII, 5 (p. 361), a bronze belt ornament, etc. Saucer brooches again made their appearance. In the way of vessels there were only two insignificant little pots of clay.

In 1830 twenty or more skeletons came to light on MALLING HILL, the high ground east of Lewes, with some swords and other weapons. A portion of a green glass bracelet now in the national collection, Pl. CLVI, 8 (p. 623), was the most interesting of the finds, as this, being a characteristic British object, is an early indication (p. 458).

The cemetery on high ground between GLYNDE and RINGMER has been previously noticed (p. 679) as a possible example of continuity in burial sites. The Saxon inhumed graves were oriented as usual, all but one where the body had its feet to the south. A few weapons and other ordinary objects were accompanied by some balls of pyrites, a phenomenon noticed also at Breach Down, Kent, and Alfriston, Sussex, Pl. XCVIII, 5 (p. 415). Above GLYNDE itself the discovery of many interments is reported, but there was hardly any tomb furniture save some iron knives. With one interment

however was an open-socketed spear head and this was under a tumulus. The presence in the vicinity of earlier urn burials under tumuli shows that here there was continuity.

In a field near BEDDINGHAM south-east from Lewes skeletons were found at the close of XVIII,[1] of which four had the feet to the east, one to the south and one to the north. There were two swords and a quantity of beads, so that the interments were in all probability Saxon.

On the downs that present their bold northerly escarpment to the traveller on the railway between Lewes and Polegate several groups of burials have been found, summarized on the Map (p. 589) as 'FIRLE, etc.,' but available information is scanty, and in any case the tomb furniture was of very slight value.

This range of downs curves downward toward the south-east and ends above EASTBOURNE, where is situated the cemetery, the site of which has been already noticed (p. 676), and which is the furthest east of the cemeteries of Sussex representing the pagan South Saxon period. There is a summary description in the following terms in vol. XXXVII of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*:—'In the Mill Field, Eastbourne, a large number of interments of Saxon date were discovered in 1877. . . . The graves were spaced with the utmost regularity, and knives, spearheads, umbos of shields, glass tumblers, a wooden drinking bucket about six inches high, bound with silvered bronze, an armlet, stirrups, and swords were found, one of the latter having the upper portion of the wooden scabbard bound with a gilt bronze rim, bearing a triangle and interlaced pattern.' In the *Transactions of the Eastbourne Natural History Society*, vol. I, 1881, Mr. Herbert Spurrell gave a few additional details, noticing that some of the skeletons held iron knives in their left hand. Some of the objects found are now in the Museum at Eastbourne.

At WILLINGDON on the same ridge a little inland from

[1] *Archaeologia*, XIV, 273.

Eastbourne 'large numbers of skeletons with weapons were found, the remains being buried in a pit near the site,' but no further information is forthcoming.[1]

No South Saxon cemetery is of greater interest and importance than the one recently discovered at ALFRISTON, on the Cuckmere a few miles inland from Seaford, at the back of Beachy Head, see p. 23. The plan prefixed to the Report[2] indicates the presence in the part excavated of about 140 interments, and there is one portion at any rate of the ground where fresh discoveries may be looked for in the future. The graves are for the most part numbered in the plan, and a detailed inventory of the contents of about 85 is given in the text of the Report. Nearly all the graves lay east and west but six were oriented towards the north. No traces were found of cremation. The tomb furniture was fairly rich and varied, though no objects in gold were found and no examples of inlaid work. The speciality of the cemetery was the collection of fibulae, several of which are of the highest interest, and have been already noticed and figured on the plates. Two of the graves, nos. 28 and 43, were remarkable for the richness of their furniture and this applies specially to the latter, in which a lady had been interred who suffered from disease of the hip.

The arms inventoried in the Report include 6 swords, but at least 3 more have been found and this makes the large number of 9 swords in all. The weights of the 9 blades have been kindly ascertained by Mr. Griffith whose reports show that in their present corroded condition they average about 2 lbs. There were at least 14 umbos exhibiting some varieties of form, with studs and handles of shields, numerous spear heads, and a couple of axes inclining to the 'Francisca' form

[1] *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, XXXVII, 112.

[2] An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Alfriston, Sussex, by A. F. Griffith, M.A., and L. F Salzmann, B.A., F.S.A. Reprinted from vol. LVI of the *Sussex Archaeological Society's Collections*, 1913.

with one of the combined axe and hammer shape, like Pl. xxx, 2 (p. 233), a piece from Horton Kirby, North Kent. Of vessels there was a small supply, but of the two clay vases, 'which would seem to have been perfect when buried,' i.e. apart from sherds, one, Pl. cxxxvii, 1 (p. 501), is of special interest, and there were one or two good pieces of glass, e.g. Pl. cxxviii, 2 (p. 487). A bronze bowl, Pl. cxvi, 1 (p. 471) is of an early type. The miscellaneous objects included one spoon with perforated bowl, a cowrie shell, a lump of iron pyrites Pl. xcviii, 5 (p. 415), etc. There were some good pins for the hair including Pl. lxxx, 6 (p. 369).

The list of fibulae embraces the following:—the three large square headed fibulae shown on Pl. lxvii (p. 339) were accompanied by two pairs of small square headed fibulae not unlike those shown in the upper row on Pl. xxxiv (p. 245) but with ornamentation of a distinctly later type. Saucer fibulae were represented by 15 examples, 7 pairs and one odd one, the ornamentation being spiral and zoomorphic, and there were ten button brooches, of which 5 were found in a single grave, but none of the 'applied' type. There were several plain disc and ring brooches, among them the remarkable silver penannular one figured Pl. xlix, 2 (p. 281), a pair of square swastika brooches, Pl. xlviii, 5 (p. 279), and two pairs of, practically, equal armed brooches, of which one pair was shown Pl. xxxvii, 5 (p. 247).

Among the buckles, which made their appearance in 27 graves and were about half of bronze and half of iron, there were two of special interest as furnishing indications of date. One[1] was accompanied by a girdle plate on which is interlacing work of rather a poor kind betokening a date in VII, and the other has been figured Pl. cliv, 1 (p. 561). This is one of the pieces discussed in Ch. x (p. 562) that has incised upon it the crouching animal in profile of Roman origin, of which there has been already question. The possible dates

[1] See the Report referred to (p. 685) note 2, pl. ix, 2.

within which the use of this motive may fall it is important to fix, and the opinion has been expressed (p. 564) that it is not necessary always to make it as early as, say, V. A comparison of objects at Alfriston with some others already figured from other sites will confirm this view.

The crouching beast on the buckle just mentioned, Pl. CLIV, 1, is obviously near akin to that which forms the chief motive of ornamentation on the beautiful silver penannular fibula from Sarre, adorned with the doves in cast silver, Pl. XLIX, 1 (p. 281), and the two pieces may very well be contemporary. The remarkable construction of Pl. XLIX, 1, brings it into close connection with Pl. XLIX, 2, the silver Alfriston penannular brooch with the foliage scroll ornament. Now the last named piece was found in the richly endowed grave no. 43 together with Pl. LXVII, 2 (p. 339) the handsome square-headed fibula on the foot of which there appears to be the representation of the human form (p. 320). This fibula is shown by the character of its ornamentation, as well as by the detail that in both brooches a beading was soldered round the edges of the foot, to be about contemporary with the other piece No. 3 on Pl. LXVII,[1] and this was found in grave 28 accompanying a pair of saucer fibulae (figured in the Report, pl. VI, 3, 3a) on which the sole motive of ornament is zoomorphic enrichment of an obviously late kind, dating quite to the latter part of VI. In the same grave 28 on the other hand was found the bronze bowl Pl. CXVI, 1 (p. 471), that might easily be a good deal earlier (p. 472).

These various equations may be somewhat puzzling to follow, but it can be said briefly that (a) the two large square headed brooches Pl. LXVII, 2, 3, (b) the saucer brooches with late zoomorphic ornament, (c) the penannular silver brooch with floral scrolls are all connected and cannot be very far removed from each other in point of date, and for this date

[1] In the rendering of this piece, Pl. LXVII, 3, the beading, which is loose, was by an oversight omitted.

some time in the last half of VI will probably be correct. If construction link (c) to the Sarre brooch with the silver doves, then the latter may be placed in about the middle third of VI, and the same date may be assigned to the buckle mentioned above, that is figured Pl. CLIV, 1.

The artistic excellence of the Sarre brooch naturally inclines one to give it an early date. The quoit form in itself may belong to V (p. 282 f.) but the elaborate construction must be later, and Pl. XLIX, 2 (p. 281), which shows it, was found with Pl. LXVII, 2 (p. 339) which cannot be very early. On the whole the middle and the latter part of VI seems to suit the character of most of the principal objects found in the cemetery, though some of the saucer fibulae with spiral scrolls, such as are figured on pl. VII of the Report, as well as some of the better executed of the button brooches, such as Pl. LIX, 5, may be of the first half of VI, while the interlacing work on the girdle plate mentioned above (p. 686) would fall in VII.

About South Saxon tomb furniture as a whole a word or two may be said. Its unlikeness to that of Kent has already been noticed and in nothing is this more strikingly shown than in the almost entire absence in the Sussex cemeteries of the inlaid work so common in the Jutish regions. The appearance of vessels of glass and of romanizing bronzes in both districts hardly counts, for these are not purely native productions, but the small square headed fibulae at Alfriston and High Down and the button brooches are possessions in common. The difference in this respect between the saucer and the button brooch is curious. The latter is a point of connection between Sussex and Kent, the former is a point of difference, for it is quite at home in Sussex, with 15 at Alfriston, nearly as many at High Down, and others at Saxonbury, but it is a stranger in Jutish Kent. On the other hand the saucer brooch is a link of connection between the South Saxons and their kinsfolk of the Thames Valley, and

attention has been called to a certain similarity in the tomb furniture of Sussex and of Surrey.[1] The saucer brooches with a pattern of legs surrounding a central rosette link up the Thames Valley cemeteries, for pieces almost counterparts were found at Fairford (p. 662 f.), at Filkins, Oxon, Pl. LXVIII, 3 (p. 341), and at Northfleet, Kent, Pl. CLVI, 2 (p. 628 f.), while a similar design of legs without the central rosette is seen Pl. CLVI, 3, from Saxonbury, in Lewes Museum, Sussex. Again, Horton Kirby, near Northfleet, is connected with High Down, Sussex, through the similar patterns on Pl. LVII, 5 (p. 313) and Pl. CLVI, 1. The scroll patterns so markedly prominent at Alfriston, see plate VII of the Report, are reproduced in the Surrey cemetery at Mitcham, Pl. LIX, 1 and 6 (p. 317). A curious similarity exists between the design of the Alfriston buckle Pl. CLIV, 1 (p. 561) and that of the small iron buckle from Croydon Pl. LXXV, 4 (p. 355), while the crouching beast on the Alfriston piece reappears on the enigmatical Croydon object Pl. XCIX, 4 (p. 419). The same beast is in evidence on the quoit brooch from Sarre, so often referred to, Pl. XLIX, 1, and Mr. Leeds suggests, on other grounds, that the Sarre piece may have had a Sussex origin.[2] The glass goblet from High Down, Sussex, Pl. CXXVII, 1 (p. 486) is almost exactly similar to one from Croydon, Surrey, Pl. CXXI, 4.

It is quite out of the question to explain these similarities by direct intercourse between the South Saxon land and Surrey or the Thames Valley by means of the Roman Stone Street connecting Chichester with London. The road passes through very wild country where there are few or no traces of early Anglo-Saxon settlements, and though chapmen may have traversed it, it cannot in early times have been a frequented route. The isolation of Sussex need not of course have been an absolute one, but there is evidence (p. 674) that in VII it was a recognized fact. The remains of South Saxon art in

[1] *Victoria History*, Sussex, I, 345. [2] *The Archaeology*, etc., p. 49.

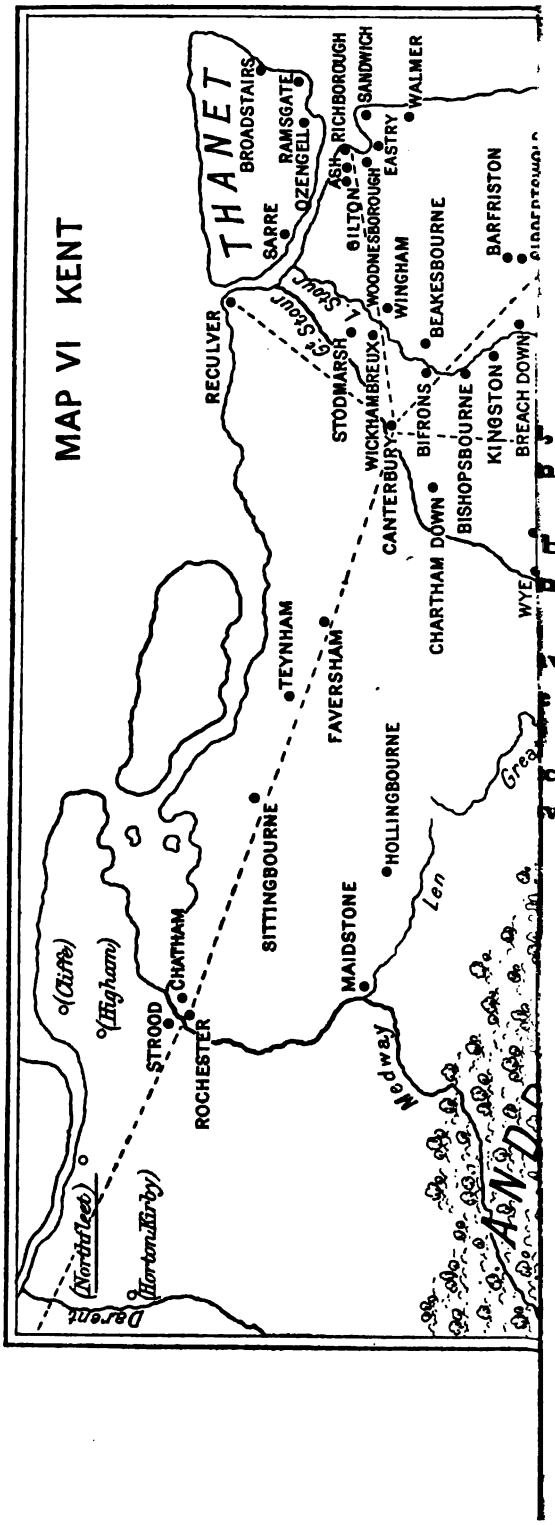
VI prove however that the crafts flourished in the country, and the imported glass shows that it was open to outland influence. No doubt the South Saxons were racially akin to the other sea-rovers who formed the settlements in the Thames Valley, and starting with common traditions they would develop their industries on similar lines but with the usual local peculiarities. It must be repeated however that the conditions alike of production and of distribution in Anglo-Saxon times (p. 33 f.) are matters on which we have practically no information.

THE JUTISH SETTLEMENTS: KENT

If Sussex be of all English districts the one that is most cut off from intercourse with the inland regions that environ it, the Kentish area is one that all through history has been particularly open to through traffic. Its maritime coast line has indeed no superiority in the matter of inlets over that of Sussex, but on the north, while the latter was in old time bounded by an almost impassable belt of woodland, Kent lay along the safe and accessible Thames estuary, and parallel with this frequented waterway a stretch of easy and open country between the river and the North Downs offered ready means of land intercourse with the interior districts of the island. The proximity of the south-eastern portion of the county to the Continent, from which its white cliffs are easily visible, has made it from time immemorial the gate of England, and Goidels and Brythons probably followed each other through its open portals to be again succeeded by the Belgae from northern Gaul, who showed the way to the formidable Roman invaders some century after their own advent. From the ports of Thanet and of Dover the ancient route known later as the Pilgrims' Way, which originated at least as early as the pre-historic Iron Age, led along the dry and open southern slope of the North Downs towards the west, while

MAP VI

facing p. 691.



…, gives the loca-
…narked in Roman

…between brackets
…meteries that are

…verging from the
… towards London

…cause of the pos-
…ve (p. 696).

a parallel route on the other slope of the hills nearer the Thames marked the course followed later on by the Roman Watling Street, that has remained ever since the main thoroughfare for road traffic from the continental ports to London and the midlands.

Favoured in this way by geographical position, Kent has played an important part in the development of early English culture. In all the pre-historic periods, from the shadowy eolithic downwards, the district has been productive beyond the average of the rest of the country, and notable neolithic and Bronze Age remains are matched by the fine Late-Celtic productions found at Aylesford and on other sites. In Roman days four roads from as many maritime stations converged on Canterbury, and poured goods and travellers into that emporium of traffic whence the busy Watling Street transmitted them to London. See Map VI.

There is a consistent tradition according to which Kent was the first portion of the island on which Teutonic invaders secured a permanent hold, and there is no reason to reject this though archaeological evidence gives it no special support. That the first landing was in the Richborough haven is also a credible tradition, and an early settlement of Thanet is archaeologically attested. In what way the penetration of the county in general was effected is not easy to say. Mr. Thurlow Leeds, who favours as a rule for the country at large the river-valley theory of penetration, is in the case of Kent disposed to see in the Roman roads the lines of the Jutish advance, and to assign no part to the rivers. To the present writer a study of the topography of the Kentish cemeteries has brought the conviction that, save in one respect, these cannot be grouped according to any single general theory of the settlement. One point is clear, the maritime character of the settlement. Evidences of early Teutonic occupation, as was previously noticed (p. 670 f.) are confined to the districts easily accessible from the sea, that is to

the eastern portion of the county and the northern littoral. Numerous as are the Kentish cemeteries they all lie north and east of a line roughly marked by the railway that runs from Swanley Junction by Maidstone and onwards to Ashford and Folkestone. Furthermore, we have already seen reason to withdraw from the Jutes the Thames-side cemeteries from Cliffe-at-Hoo up to Greenwich and to assign them to the Saxon settlers of the Thames Valley who founded the kingdom of Wessex. Jutish Kent would therefore not come further west than the Medway, which curiously enough still forms the line of demarcation between the dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester as well as between those somewhat whimsical corporate entities 'Men of Kent' and 'Kentish Men.'

Within the Jutish area the distribution is not easy to systematize. In correspondence with the tradition of the entry near Richborough and the early seizure of Thanet, we find a ring of cemeteries, some of early date, on the high ground encircling Richborough haven, and may treat of these as a single group. Tradition, as embodied in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, brings the invaders next to Aylesford on the Medway near Maidstone, a locality not accessible by any natural line of advance from Thanet, save haply by the use from Ashford westwards of the 'Pilgrims' Road,' but quite in the way of any force advancing by water up the river Medway. Another locality indicated in the *Chronicle* is Crayford, almost on the north-western verge of the county, and this certainly suggests an advance along the great Roman thoroughfare, the main line of which is still followed by wheel traffic between Canterbury, Rochester and London. A range of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries from Faversham westward to Strood by Rochester follows the line of this road and may be claimed as archaeological evidence that this was the line of advance, but the early settlement at Chatham revealed by the explorations of the author of *Nenia Britannica* may just as well have been founded as a riparian site in connection with the ascent of the river to Aylesford as

by a marching detachment along the Roman road. Inland from the circle of high ground dotted with cemeteries round Richborough haven there are many important sites between here and the longitude of Canterbury that cannot easily be brought into connection with any theory of the settlement. Most of them are however late cemeteries the history of which cannot be carried back to any date near that of the actual conquest, and may be regarded as the outcome of a comparatively slow process of diffusion that carried the immigrants to rural sites which different communities made their own. Some of these lie not far from the Roman roads between Richborough and Canterbury and Dover and Canterbury, but the sites do not seem to have any relation to these thoroughfares, whereas on the other hand a great many of them lie along the valley of the Lesser Stour and might be claimed on this ground as riparian. Whether the Lesser Stour, which takes a sweep within the larger curve of the Greater Stour on which Canterbury lies, had ever a sufficient head of water to convey sea-rovers' keels as far as Barham Downs may be doubted, but the fact remains that if we follow this valley upwards from the flat land between Preston and Grove Ferry, where once was the sea that made Thanet an island, we pass some of the most prolific sites in Anglo-Saxon antiquities of the whole county, and in the words of Mr. Godfrey Faussett[1] 'rich as east Kent is found to be in such relics, it may be doubted whether so many of these burial places have been anywhere discovered lying together, as in this valley of the Lesser Stour.' The valley of the Greater Stour is not so well supplied with cemeteries, but there are some on its slopes above Canterbury at Chartham, Crundale and Wye. The Stone Street, the Roman road from the ancient sea-port station at Lymne near Hythe, is not fringed with any cemeteries, though some interesting objects have been found at Lymne itself, and the cemetery at Stowting on the southern slopes of the

[1] *Arch. Cant.*, x, 299.

North Downs is not far as the crow flies from the Roman highway.

Besides these groups of more or less connected cemeteries there are others dotted here and there over the eastern parts of Kent, and by counting contiguous ones, such as Barfriston and Sibertswold, together, and omitting from the enumeration casual finds, the total of the Kentish sites may be reduced for our present purpose to about twenty-five, and they will be enumerated in the direction east to west, from the sea coast by Thanet towards the inland parts of the county, according to a grouping to be presently explained. The Map, No. VI, on a larger scale than Maps V, VII, VIII, gives the names and localities of the cemeteries. The total number of graves of the existence of which there is reasonable evidence may be taken as in round numbers about 2200. This figure has been arrived at by taking the (uncatalogued) interments in the King's Field, Faversham, at 400, and making a moderate guess at the numbers represented in one or two cases by 'many' or 'several' in the reports. Of this total number about 1200 graves have their furniture properly inventorized. The chief local collections are at Maidstone, in the general Museum and the collection of the Kent Archaeological Society, Canterbury, Rochester, Dover, Folkestone, but the Mayer-Faussett collection in the Museum at Liverpool is the most important of all. The British Museum of course possesses Kentish objects in abundance, and the Gibbs collection from Faversham, now deposited there, furnishes some of the best items.

Evidence of the use by the Teutonic immigrants of cemeteries belonging to the earlier population is in Kent particularly clear. The chief Roman centres of an urban character, as was noticed above (p. 138) do not yield Anglo-Saxon remains, though there was one instance, at Strood, across the Medway from Rochester, where Teutonic interments were contiguous with those of Roman date (ibid. and

p. 115). The Teutonic settlements were here as elsewhere in Britain rural ones, and we have seen that in the country generally it is in the rural Bronze and Early Iron Age cemeteries that we find the connections between the interments of the older and the immigrant race. In Kent the connection is rather with the somewhat later Romano-British times, when cremation was in use prior to the recrudescence of the practice of inhumation from III onwards. The instance of Crundale noticed later on (p. 731) is one where the earlier cremated burials were accompanied by objects of a Roman character. In the case of nearly half the cemeteries included in our enumeration there was some sign of this continuity with some epoch of the past, and the instances are Broadstairs; Sarre; Ash, Gilton, etc.; Beakesbourne, etc.; Kingston; Breach Down; Barfriston and Sibertswold; Crundale and Wye; Sittingbourne, etc. Evidence of earlier burials is afforded sometimes by the presence of a Roman cinerary urn that seemed to have been broken at the second interment, or of a vase of distinctively Celtic type, such as the banded one from Breach Down (p. 724). In many cases vases found in these circumstances contained distinct relics of cremated burials, and this occurred at Ramsgate, Gilton, Kingston, Breach Down, Sibertswold, Crundale, Sittingbourne. Such burials are always regarded as non-Jutish on the ground that the rite of cremation was not practised by the Jutish settlers in England. On this a word will presently be said, but it may be noticed here that there was generally clear evidence that the urn with evidence of cremation was not of the same age as the skeleton equipped with Jutish tomb furniture that was found with it. It is noteworthy, and to the credit of the immigrants, to have the testimony of Faussett that the fragments of earlier urns containing burnt bones, accidentally broken at the time of the secondary burial, were at times 'carefully placed one within the other,'[1] or, 'the smaller

[1] *Inv. Sep.*, Barfriston, grave 26.

broken pieces of the urn were carefully placed on the contents of the larger sherds . . . but the larger pieces were so placed together as to hold the burnt bones.'[1]

It has been stated already (p. 583) that there is no properly attested example of Jutish cremation. Burnt bones were found it is true in a bronze bowl in a burial at Coombe near Sandwich together with an Anglo-Saxon sword, but we have seen (p. 222) that the character of the sword hilt shows that the burial was at least of VII or at any rate much later than the early Jutish days when, if ever, cremation would have been in use. Again at Folkestone, on the rising ground called the Boyle or Bayle, near the parish church, there was found in 1850 together with iron fragments that may have imported a spear head or a sword, an urn with calcined bones in it that is stated to have had the form of Anglian cinerary urns from other parts of the country (see note[2] below). It is unfortunate that neither this urn nor any drawing of it has been preserved, and owing to the fact that urns not of the Anglo-Saxon period have been so often found in Kent with burnt bones in them, the Jutish character of this particular urn must be regarded as a little doubtful. Hence the case is treated on Map VI in the same way as those of Hassocks and High Down in Sussex and a dotted line is used under the name of the place.

[1] *Inv. Sep.*, Gilton, grave 50.

[2] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 1st Ser., II, 175. The words of Thomas Wright, F.S.A., who communicated the discovery, are important enough to be quoted. 'These remains are . . . undoubtedly Saxon. They consist of a large iron spear head —if it be not, as I imagined at first sight, part of a sword—and the fragments of an urn, broken probably by the workmen. The latter was filled with calcined bones, a circumstance worthy to be noticed, because urn-burial among the Saxons in Kent appears to have been a much less usual practice than the interment of the body entire. An examination of the fragments of the urn will show that it was identical in character with the Saxon pottery found in the cemeteries in Northamptonshire and in East Anglia.' No drawing of the fragments of the urn accompanied this notice.

The general character of Kentish tomb furniture will have been inferred from the numerous examples figured on the plates, and it will be remembered that the whole contents of one early and specially well furnished cemetery, that of Bifrons, have been analysed and to a great extent illustrated. The occurrence in so many Kentish graves of our period of Roman objects, such as pieces of Samian pottery, ornaments, and coins, is of course a natural consequence of the extensive romanization of the district, and has no special significance. In other respects the geographical position of the district has a bearing on its archaeology. The importation from the Continent of objects made in other Teutonic centres would naturally follow the earlier Romano-British trade-routes, and though many such objects would be passed on into the other regions of England a proportionately large number would remain in the county. This applies specially to the cast bronze bowls, such as Pl. CXIV, 4 (p. 467), the vessels of glass, Pll. CXXI to CXXVIII, and also to objects such as the 'francisca' axe, the angon, and the radiating fibula, which belong to the Continent and of which at any rate the earlier specimens were imported from abroad.

The Kentish cemeteries are dealt with in the following groups which are partly natural groups geographically connected, and partly arbitrary, in that outlying cemeteries are for the sake of convenience brought in to groups to which they do not strictly belong.

I. Richborough Haven Cemeteries. From the high ground of Thanet above Pegwell Bay on the north round to Walmer on the south there is a circle of heights that look down on the flats where once the sea flowed in to form Richborough Haven. Broadstairs and Ramsgate; Ozengell; Sarre; Ash with Richborough, Goldston, Gilton, Coombe and Woodnesborough; Eastry with Walmer and Ringwold, are the principal sites of cemeteries.

II. South Coast Cemeteries, including Dover, Folkestone, Lyminge, Lymne, Stowting.

III. Cemeteries of the Lesser Stour Valley. This stream rises at the back of the downs that overhang Hythe and Folkestone and flows northward to join the Great Stour at a place the name of which, Stourmouth, recalls the time when the sea ran through here and made Thanet an island. From the lower reaches of the stream near Stodmarsh, as far as Breach Down by Barham, the slopes of this valley are dotted with Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of which may be mentioned Stodmarsh, Wickhambreux and Wingham ; Bifrons ; Beakesbourne ; Bishopsbourne and Bourne Park ; Kingston ; Breach Down ; and to these may be adjoined two linked cemeteries, on the other side of Barham Downs and of the Roman road that runs along their ridge, Barfriston and Sibertswold.

IV. On the Great Stour, above Canterbury, are the cemeteries at Chartham Down ; Crundale, and Wye.

V. The fifth group may be termed the Watling Street cemeteries, and comprises the important site of the King's Field, Faversham, with cemeteries at Sittingbourne and Milton; Chatham Lines ; Rochester and Strood ; west of which place the sites are regarded as no longer Jutish. Up the Medway valley Maidstone and Hollingbourne must be mentioned.

I. THE RICHBOROUGH HAVEN CEMETERIES

If any one stand on the southern edge of the tableland of Thanet with Broadstairs and Ramsgate on his left, he will have below him the marshes where once the sea flowed in, and beyond these the slight rise that marks the site of Richborough, the Roman Rutupiae. Further back from the sea than the Roman Castrum the markedly high ground begins at that conspicuous landmark the spire of Ash and continues in a ridge to the prominent church tower of the Teutonic-sounding Woodnesborough, whence after a low-lying stretch

which was formerly under water, it begins again at Eastry and stretches to the sea behind Walmer. At many points in this amphitheatre of elevated ground there are Saxon cemeteries that no doubt served the immigrant population that had gathered near the various havens forming the old Rutupian harbour, and that seem to have been in use early enough to carry us back to the first generation after the Conquest.

BROADSTAIRS is included in this group though it may not strictly belong to it. The site and the discoveries made upon it have been already noticed (pp. 22, 132). The use of the cemetery may have begun soon after 500, for an early close-set garnet brooch was found Pl. CXLV, 5 (p. 533) and the small double and triple blown beads and cylindrical ones Pl. CIV, 1, F to G (p. 429) would agree with this, but the lobed glass vase Pl. CXXIII, 1 (p. 483) might be nearly a century later. Up to the date of writing exactly 30 Jutish graves have been opened, two of them between 8 and 9 ft. long by 2 to 3 ft. wide, and in one grave were three bodies, two adults and a child. There was no sign of cremation, nor were there any outward marks of the interments. In most cases the feet were to the east or south-east, but two skeletons were found in a crouching position. The tomb furniture was varied and interesting. There were arms, including one fine sword, spear heads, umbos, and knives, abundant beads mostly of an early kind Pl. CIV, 1 (p. 429) including also 75 of amber and 7 amethysts, a small cast bronze buckle of early appearance, and the urn Pl. CXXIX, 6 (p. 491) and lobed glass vessel Pl. CXXIII, 1 (p. 483). For the important find of early Anglo-Saxon coins, with their indications of date, see (p. 108).

At RAMSGATE, in a position corresponding to that of the Broadstairs cemetery, on the flat tableland above the West Cliff, where West Cliff Road comes out into the open near St. Augustine's, there were found about 1840 some mixed burials, in which Roman cinerary urns with burnt bones had

near them skeletons with Saxon-looking swords by their sides. This use by the immigrants of an older place of sepulture and the prominence of weapons suggest an early date.

This same impression is derived from the little we know about the cemetery at OZENGELL in Thanet. A little inland from Ramsgate, about a mile west of St. Lawrence and still on the tableland, an extensive burial field was accidentally discovered during the construction of the Canterbury and Ramsgate railway between 1845 and 50. The site is not far from the point where the road from Deal to Margate crosses that between Ramsgate and Canterbury. The land is now laid out for corn but in older times it was open down, when tumuli, remembered as 'hillocks,' seem to have marked the graves. Here the railway workmen cut into Jutish interments the whole number of which they guessed at about 100, and discovered many articles of interest that were disposed of in casual fashion. Thirteen graves were however carefully reported on,[1] and Fig. 24 is from a sketch made at the time by the well-known antiquary Mr. Fairholt of one of the best preserved of the interments. The warrior was armed with short sword, spear with spike at the butt end, knife, and shield which was laid on the breast. An earthen vessel of the specially Kentish type was by the shoulder. The interments were rather irregular and were effected in the chalk at a depth

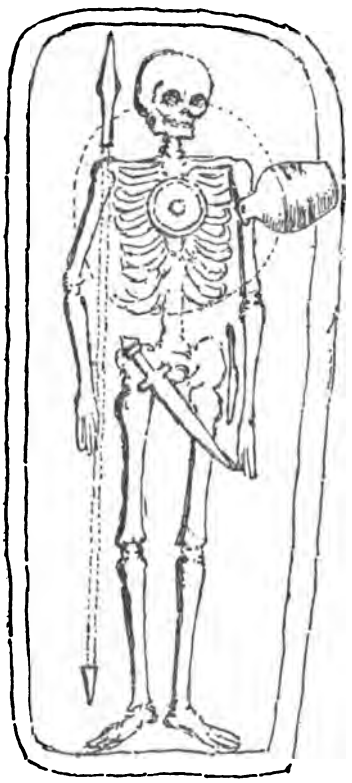


FIG. 24.—Interment at Ozengell, Kent.

[1] *Coll. Ant.*, III, 1.

of 2 to 3 ft. In one case as at Broadstairs a man, woman and child were found in one grave (p. 190) and there were other instances of double burial. It was noticed as a special feature that, as was the case with 20 graves at Goldston by Richborough, many of the bodies had been covered with thin slabs of a laminated sandstone, an outcrop of which occurs near Cliffsend on Pegwell Bay. Some traces of coffins in the form of iron bolts were also observed.

Indications of date were not wanting, and early symptoms were a close set garnet fibula of circular form, a knobby ring once probably the main part of an annular fibula but now used as a key ring, Pl. LXXXIX, 1 (p. 397), a radiating fibula and a 'francisca' of particularly elegant shape, Fig. 25. On the other hand the discovery of three sceattas (p. 109) and an imitated coin of Justinian point to a use of the cemetery down to at least the end of VI. The other objects found, arms, ornaments, beads, etc., do not call for special remark.

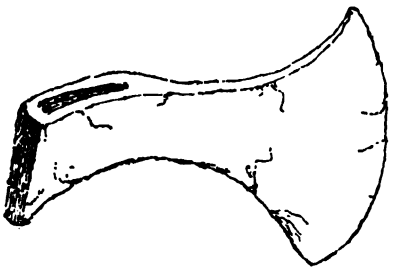


FIG. 25.—Axe Head from Ozengell.

A few miles away on the western edge of the tableland of Thanet, on rising ground crowned by the windmill of SARRE, a very extensive and interesting cemetery was systematically explored in 1863-4. There had been previous casual discoveries on the site, from one of which came the necklet shown in colour Pl. B, 1 (p. 353) the coins on which date it in the second quarter of VII, but the excavations were now properly supervised, and the results of 272 interments recorded grave by grave by the Kentish antiquary John Brent, F.S.A.[1] The site is called by Mr. Godfrey Faussett 'as bleak and exposed a down as Saxon ever chose for his burying

[1] *Arch. Cant.*, V, 305 f., VI, 157 f., VII, 307 f. Earlier discoveries were figured, ibid., III, pll. II, III, IV.

place,' but there is no pronounced elevation. The graves were regularly placed and in all but a few cases ranged east and west. They were cut in the chalk below the supersoil which was 12 in. to 18 in. thick. There is no mention of tumuli or any outward marks, and had such existed the indefatigable explorers of XVIII would certainly have attempted the site. Mr. John Brent thought there never had been any tumuli 'from the even appearance of the upper soil and the propinquity of some of the graves.'[1] As is so often the case in Kent part of the cemetery had been in use in earlier times. It was noticed that grave no. 130 and others immediately surrounding it showed signs of having been dug on the site of Romano-British interments. Samian ware was found in no. 228, and there was a Roman urn, such as was used for cremation, in no. 181. There were several graves of unwonted size: thus no. 4 was 10 ft. by 4 ft. and 4½ ft. deep; no. 17 was 9 ft., no. 60 9½ ft. long; no. 81 measured 9 ft. by 5 with a depth of 6 ft. Fourteen cases of double burials were recorded, the most interesting being no. 39, where two old warriors had been laid to rest with a varied collection of weapons (p. 189). Only very occasionally were traces of coffins found.

The cemetery was remarkable for the number of arms discovered, but it also furnished some very fine examples of decorative work, which will be noticed below. Of indications of date or provenance the following may be noticed. A few of the graves, e.g. nos. 85, 114, 157, 179, 186, were set obliquely to the general east-west direction, and while the others offered no indication of date no. 85 contained a bronze ring fibula with knobs, like that serving as a key ring at Ozengell, Pl. LXXXIX, 1 (p. 397), and the bone of a sheep or deer, both early symptoms. No. 148 had the skeleton lying with feet to west (contrary to the normal position with feet to east), and with this there was early grave furniture

[1] *Archaeologia*, XLI, 320.

consisting in a close set garnet disc fibula, a large 'melon' bead of Roman type, and a pierced bronze girdle ornament of a kind common in Frankish graves and of early character. In no. 126 was a small bronze brooch of very Roman type, though the settings, which in the Gallo-Roman age would have been in enamel, are now of white substance with garnet centres. Among the beads were a good many of the small double or triple kind. On the other hand there were very distinct late indications such as the necklet just mentioned (p. 701). In grave 158 were two garnet fibulae, one of which showed in its pattern a gold cross with a filling of garnets. It is improbable however that the cross has any Christian significance for with this brooch was found another of quatrefoil shape closely set with garnets, which looked early and rather Frankish in type. It may be compared with Pl. CXLV, 7, 8 (p. 533).

In the matter of arms Sarre is remarkable in that one fourth of the total number of the graves contained weapons, and with the 272 bodies there were found no fewer than 26 swords, so that of the 68 armed men more than a third were sword bearers. This proportion is far larger than that of any other cemetery in the country as a whole except perhaps the recently discovered one at Droxford, Hants, where six swords made their appearance (p. 208). Spear heads were found in the same grave with swords in many cases, e.g. nos. 6, 8, 11, 17, 39, 57. Umbos were sometimes placed over the face of the corpse, nos. 111, 118, 156. The shield in no. 39 had left an impression on the soil which showed that it was about 18 in. in diameter. Grave 39 contained an axe head, 89 an angon 42 in. long. In one grave, 26, it was found that a scramasax 12 in. long and a knife of 6 in. had been carried in one sheath.

Some graves of females contained considerable evidence of wealth and luxury. That numbered 4 was the richest, and the summary of its contents runs as follows, 'Gold wire

thread, a silver finger ring, six gold bracteates, a large quantity of beads' (133 of amber were counted), 'four bronze fibulae, a glass drinking cup,' Pl. CXXVII, 3 (p. 486), 'three knives, two keys, a pair of scissor-shears, a silver spoon, a crystal ball or amulet,' Pll. XCIV, 1 ; XCIII, 1 (p. 403), 'a buckle, a comb, a pin, two Roman coins, and a fossil echinus.'[1] The skull of the lady whose were these possessions was preserved, and a photograph of it in its glass case is given Pl. CLVIII, 2 (p. 807). Finer single objects were however found in other parts of the cemetery. There were two disc fibulae set with garnets, of the first class (the Kingston example is in a class by itself), and a large square headed fibula, set with garnets, 5 in. long, Pl. CLV, 5 (p. 563) see (p. 334) in no. 159. A saucer fibula with garnet centre and scroll ornament, 1 in. in diameter, no. 260, and some smaller disc fibulae with a flat quoit shaped brooch, no. 27, pretty well complete the Brent inventory of this class of objects, which was but sparingly represented in the cemetery, but to the above, from the 1863-4 diggings, fall to be added one or two pieces from other graves that are now in the British Museum, the most important of which is the silver penannular brooch Pl. XLIX, 1 (p. 281) about which so much has already been said (pp. 282, 685). A buckle with triangular plate inlaid with a gold panel on which are lacertine creatures interlaced was found in a deep grave, no. 68, together with a sword, an umbo, a bucket, and a bone comb, three of the teeth of which had been deftly replaced in bronze. There were in all seven glass vessels of which two were of the lobed form, and some bronze bowls beaten and cast. The display of pottery was not remarkable for its quantity, but the specimens were very characteristic of the Kentish style, being mostly of the bottle shape, Pl. CXXXIX (p. 507). A handled jug of a Frankish form was also found, Pl. CXXXIX, 5. In no. 238 was a

[1] *Catalogue of the Kent Archaeological Society's Collections at Maidstone*, London, 1892, p. 17.

Cypraea shell. Bronze tweezers were found in the same grave with a sword, no. 86. In two graves, nos. 6 and 198, there were counters or draughtsmen and in the latter two dice marked exactly like modern ones. A special find was a pair of scales with 19 weights partly formed from Roman coins, Pl. XCVIII, 6 (p. 415). The owner of these appliances was armed with spear and shield and with the scramasax and knife in the one sheath, and had with him moreover iron keys and what looked like part of a lock.[1]

At RICHBOROUGH some casual discoveries have been made.[2] Behind and on each side of Richborough there is a group of cemeteries. At GOLDSTON-UNDER-ASH 20 graves were opened a little before 1850 and the use of covering slabs of laminated sandstone connects them with Ozengell. 'Weapons, coins, urns, glass vessels, and beads' are reported by Charles Roach Smith.[3] Along the whole of the ridge between Ash and Woodnesborough finds have from time to time been recorded, and swords, fibulae, beads, coins, etc., are mentioned, but on the higher ground at ASH and behind it at Gilton more important discoveries have been made. Douglas here opened several graves, but the chief discoveries were made in 1760 to 1763 by Bryan Faussett, whose report on GILTON is in *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 1 f. He opened 106 graves of the contents of which he furnishes an inventory. No plan is published but Faussett stated that while most of the bodies had the feet to the east, nine were oriented differently with feet to the north. Traces of coffins were observed in about half the graves opened. The signs of earlier use of the burying ground have been the subject of comment (p. 695 f.), and in connection with some Romano-

[1] The Sarre collection is partly in the Museum of the Kent Archaeological Society at Maidstone and partly in the British Museum.

[2] Reported in Charles Roach Smith's *Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne*, London, 1850. See Pl. LXV, 2 (p. 342).

[3] *Ass.*, V, 374.

British enamelled bronze brooches in graves nos. 67 and 70 and a Roman mirror in no. 94, the editor of Faussett's MSS., Charles Roach Smith, remarks in a note to *Inv. Sep.*, p. 28, 'the antiquary cannot fail to notice the Roman character and influence which prevail at this cemetery.' Marks of a fairly early date were not absent, but, as is the case with all Faussett's cemeteries, the objects in general were rather late, and an imitated coin of Justinian, 527-565, that had been pierced for suspension, in grave 41, gives an indication. There was however a good collection of weapons, including five swords, and this is an early sign. In connection with the spears Faussett measured distances between heads and ferules (p. 241), and moreover noted frequently the presence beside the body of what he termed a 'pilum,' which he regarded as a sort of light javelin about 4½ ft. long often accompanying the heavier spear.

Ornaments were plentiful and several pieces illustrated on the plates were found here. This applies to the open work clasp Pl. LXXVII, 3 (pp. 106 f., 362), the late silver square headed brooch Pl. LXV, 3 (p. 342), the bronze pendant with interlacing animals Pl. LXIII, 6, the buckle with rectangular chape inlaid with garnets Pl. LXXI, 4 (p. 349), which are all examples of VII work. Seven handsome disc fibulae set with garnets, one or two of which are of great beauty, are recorded in the inventory, and as we have seen point to a date in VII.

There was not much pottery, but good glass vessels came to light, as in graves 19, 27, 41 which were female interments, and a lobed beaker in no. 83, a grave which contained the body of a warrior. The silver brooch Pl. LXV, 3 it will be remembered was in a male interment, and it is to be noted that a male skeleton in no. 89 had on his arm a bronze bracelet, very Roman in aspect, figured *Inv. Sep.*, pl. XVI, 9. In the case of several women's graves there were indications of the presence by the feet of a small wooden box in which little personal belongings might be contained.

Among the vessels bronze bowls take the first place. Two graves, 8 and 19, each contained a shallow thin beaten bronze bowl resting on a three-legged trivet. The one in no. 8 had been patched in several places. A more remarkable example of such repairing came to light in a grave near Gilton that Roach Smith described in 1842. He speaks of 'spear heads, battle axes and swords of iron, umbones of shields, fibulae, buckles, beads, a glass cup and crystal balls,' and in conjunction with these of two bronze dishes, the larger 21 in. in diameter by 5 in depth, of thin metal with handles attached by plates soldered on,[1] the smaller, of thicker metal, 14 in. in diameter with drop handles and an open work rim for a foot, as in the examples Pl. CXIV, 4, 5. This last was cast, the larger one beaten, and this had been repaired 'at a date long subsequent to that of the fabrication of the basin,' with two pieces of a different metal on which are some curiously fantastic designs, figured in *Archaeologia*, as below.

The remarkable discovery made at COOMBE near Sandwich about 1848 has been already noticed (pp. 222, 696).

In connection with Woodnesborough, at the end of the Ash series of cemeteries, an extraordinary phenomenon reported from the end of XVIII has been already noticed (p. 482). There were then discovered on a farm about thirty glass tumblers of Jutish date, and these were so well preserved that they were kept at the farm to be used at 'harvest homes' and on other special occasions by the farm labourers! Akerman in 1855 engraved the only one which then survived, and it is reproduced Pl. CXXII, 2 (p. 481).

EASTRY, on the road between Sandwich and Dover, is a site where natural changes have been great. The ground rises here for the ascent of the downs but an inlet of the sea once extended as far as the present flat ground at the foot of the hill. A little inland from Eastry and adjoining it is Buttsole, and here from time to time discoveries of Anglo-Saxon graves

[1] *Archaeologia*, XXX, p. 132 f.

have been made and are described in a book by the Rev. W. F. Shaw entitled *Liber Eastriae*, or *Memorials of Eastry*.[1] The most interesting finds are not mentioned in the book, but some letters recently found by Mr. Hubert Elgar in the Maidstone Museum give all the information required. According to one from Mr. W. W. Cobb, of Dec. 29, 1866, the objects in question including the remarkable appliques in cast bronze Pl. XXIV, 2, 3, 5 (p. 203), the arrow heads Pl. XXXII, 1 (p. 237), the three umbos Pl. XXII, 2 (p. 197), were found by Sir Samuel Chambers, of Updown by Eastry, at the site of a cottage called 'Southbank,' between the Lynch, the Cross, and Buttsole and close to the main road near Brook House. Mr. Cobb presented the objects to the Museum. A letter from the Rev. W. F. Shaw written after his book had been published confirms this. It may be added that in addition to the objects just mentioned there were also three swords, corresponding to the three umbos, that are now in the Museum and are remarkable as being rather different in size and shape from the usual Jutish or Anglo-Saxon swords. This bears on the suggestion that these burials were of three warriors of a different stock from that of the population in general, see (p. 203).

The list of sites round Richborough Haven may be concluded with a mention of WALMER, on the Waterworks Hill behind which some discoveries have been made,[2] and RINGWOLD on the downs above Kingsdown. A few Anglo-Saxon objects found here in the middle of XIX are in the British Museum.[3]

II. THE SOUTH COAST CEMETERIES

The grouping here is artificial and a matter of convenience. Dover, Folkestone, and Lymne the Roman Portus Lemanis,

[1] London, 1870. See also Hasted's *Kent*, vol. x, p. 101, where discoveries made in 1792 between Buttsole and Eastry Cross are described.

[2] *Vict. Hist.*, Kent, I, 363.

[3] *Arch. Journ.*, IX, 304.

are all accessible from the sea, and so too on the northern coast is RECULVER the ancient Regulbium, and at all of these Anglo-Saxon objects have been found. At Folkestone, and also a little inland at Lyminge actually on the upper waters of the Lesser Stour, round headed radiating fibulae have been found suggesting an early date, and we may ask ourselves the question what would be the position of these three Roman seaports and the other natural havens after the Jutish conquest. The immigrants came as sea-farers and either they or their kinsfolk had been for some time before the settlement familiar with the sea ways between Britain and the Continent, but they settled down as farmers, and we read little about their maritime activity after the actual conquest. See however (p. 765). How far they used the ports we cannot tell but they have left their traces on or near their sites.

At DOVER the finds have been sporadic and not specially early. Objects figured on the plates were discovered on the Priory Hill, Pll. CXLVI, 3 (p. 535); CIX, 1 (p. 457), and at the Old Park at the back of the town on the road to Canterbury, Pl. LXVIII, 1 (p. 341).

FOLKESTONE offers more of interest for here we have the outcome of the exploration of a regular cemetery. The situation and character of this have already formed the subject of comment (p. 142), and the nature of the interments has been illustrated Pll. XII (p. 151); XV (p. 157). The exploration of the cemetery is of very recent date but on the site[1] some years before 1849 there was found a round headed radiating fibula[2] similar to that just mentioned from Lyminge, the earliest object that the cemetery has furnished. In 1889 nine graves were opened on the site, but the principal discoveries were made in 1907, when 35 graves of men, women, and children were laid bare in connection with the widening of the

[1] Sometimes located as being a little below the inn 'The Valiant Sailor.'

[2] T. Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, Lond., 1875, p. 482.

road to Dover at an awkward turn by the chalk pit, see Fig. 4 (p. 141), near the summit of the long rise. There were no external indications of the graves, though the down at this point does not seem ever to have been brought under cultivation. There was one skeleton in a crouching position, and in the case of one of the extended ones, no. 21, there were indications of a violent death, for there was a knife blade thrust into the right side below the ribs through part of the back bone, the knife remaining in that position. The feet were as a rule turned east-south-east, facing, it was noticed, the rising sun in November or January. The objects discovered are in the Folkestone Museum, and they comprise several pieces of special interest.

Arms are a feature of the collection. A double edged sword of the usual type had its scabbard covered with leather which seemed to have been ornamented with crossed bands of white. There were ten spear heads with the usual variety in their forms and two shield bosses of the hemispherical shape, one of which has its central flat stud and the five studs or rivet heads round its rim tinned, and was surrounded as it lay with other plated bronze studs that indicated a breadth for the shield of about 30 in. There were also 25 knives, but the most striking object was the long 'dagger' figured Pl. XXVIII, 6 (p. 227). There was one handsome garnet inlaid disc fibula and several buckles, with numerous amber and glass beads, and with them some apparently of fossil encrinite, as at Broadstairs (p. 432). One large iron buckle can be compared with the specimen at Maidstone Pl. LXXIII, 2 (p. 355). There was also a small mounted crystal ball, and a bottle shaped vase which was one of the later finds of 1910.

Science owes a debt to Mr. A. G. Nichols, Burgh Engineer of Folkestone, for the care with which he supervised the excavations, making 'a careful plan to scale of the exact position and orientation of every skeleton brought to light as well as a photograph of nearly every one before it was

removed.' 'One skeleton,' Pl. XII (p. 151), 'he removed uninjured by sawing away the ground in which it was embedded and pushing an iron plate below it after the saw. In this he did what few anthropologists would have had the skill or resources to carry out, and procured what I believe is the most valuable Anglo-Saxon specimen in the world.' The words here quoted are from a paper by Professor F. G. Parsons 'On some Saxon bones from Folkestone.'[1] He found on the site in 1910 four more skeletons, and drew up a report on the remains as a whole, reckoning the stature of the males at about 5 ft. 6 in. and that of the females at 5 ft. 3½ in., the difference in the stature of the two sexes being not so great as it is now. The men 'were not up to the average of upper middle class Englishmen of the present day,' which is about 5 ft. 9 in. or 5 ft. 10 in. These estimates of stature are interesting in comparison with those that have been made in the past in connection with other discoveries of skeletons. As a rule the older accounts give the impression of an average stature above that of the present, and quotations from these that may be found by reference to the index have been given from time to time in the pages. As is the case with the subject of comparative craniology referred to previously (p. 186), this question of the estimate of stature from the evidence of bones is one for careful scientific investigation, for which there seems still to be room.

The notice of Anglo-Saxon burials at Folkestone would not be complete without a reference to a discovery of an urn with calcined bones, reported in 1850 as having been made in the part known as the Boyle or Bayle in that corner of older Folkestone near the parish church. On the strength of the report previously quoted (p. 696) the case has been marked on the Map (p. 691) as a possible example of Jutish cremation.

At LYMINGE, a place well known to students of Anglo-Saxon architecture and history, see Vol. I, p. 279, Vol. II,

[1] *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. XLI, Jan.-June 1911.

pp. 118, 128, 273, two objects of special interest were found accompanied by Anglo-Saxon arms and one or two other items.[1] They are a round headed radiating brooch and a cruciform brooch with fixed knobs and horse's head foot—one of half a score of examples of the cruciform type found in Kent on which a word will afterwards be said (p. 718). In the neighbourhood of the old Roman station at LYMNE, but not on the actual site, skeletons have been found with characteristic Anglo-Saxon objects,[2] the most interesting of which are a buckle with oval chape of the Frankish type, the great rarity of which was signalized in connection with the example from Ipswich, Pl. LXXI, 6 (p. 349), and a back plate connected with a girdle (p. 357), both engraved with linear and conventional ornament of early character.[3]

The site of STOWTING has been included with the foregoing. Lymne is the starting point of the Roman road, the so-called Stone Street, from Portus Lemanis to Canterbury, and we may ask how far this road seems to have been used by the Jutes in connection with their settlement of the country. As the crow flies Stowting is less than a mile from the Stone Street but it has no topographical relation to it. The present village and the Anglo-Saxon cemetery lie in a hollow of the chalk downs in the secluded situation characteristic of the settlements, while the Roman road traverses at a considerable height the bare down, and the two localities are in no way in touch. At the other end of the Stone Street there were Saxon burials on Chartham Down, but they are more than a mile from its line and in closer connection with the Stour valley below it. The fact is that along all its course save at its southern extremity the Stone Street passes through a country bare of settlements to a degree quite surprising in populous Kent.

[1] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, x, 206. [2] *Ass.*, IV, 158.

[3] The pieces are figured in C. Roach Smith's *Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne*, p. 264.

The successive discoveries at STOWTING, made in a field above the church and rectory and well above the village, are of great interest, and the earliest were described in a pamphlet by the Rev. Frederick Wrench, rector of Stowting.[1] There are three dates involved. In 1844 thirty skeletons were discovered, in 1866 twenty-five graves yielded up as many as thirty-four bodies,[2] and seven more were opened in 1881.[3] The earlier finds are figured on three plates in the pamphlet and many of the objects are still preserved in the rectory, where through the kindness of the late Rev. A. Upton the present writer had an opportunity of inspecting and photographing them. Several have been shown on the plates, as for example the pierced umbo Pl. XXII, 4 (p. 197), the three silver disc fibulae Pl. CXLVI, 5 (p. 535), the bronze bowl Pl. CXVI, 3 (p. 471), the girdle ornament and shoe shaped stud Pl. LXXV, 6, 7 (p. 358). The Stowting objects were on the whole of an early character. There were two spathas, one 36 in. long, the other possessed of a small embryo cocked hat pommel like the example at Guildford, Pl. XXVI, 2 (p. 219), and other arms. Women's graves, in one of which a perfect skeleton measured only 5 ft. 2 in., produced beads, some of which were of the small double form, while one was a melon shaped blue glass bead of the Roman type, and the three fibulae mentioned above.

The discoveries of 1866 were chiefly remarkable for some burials of special interest. In grave 5 in the enumeration in *Archaeologia*, XLI, there were two adult skeletons with the bones of a child at the feet of one of them. No. 9 was a grave 9 ft. long by 4 ft. wide oriented north and south as an exception to the eastward orientation prevailing here as in Kent generally, and it was richly supplied with tomb furniture (p. 167). It was evidently the tomb of a lady of

[1] *A Brief Account of the Parish of Stowting*, London, 1845.

[2] These discoveries are recorded in *Archaeologia*, XLI, 409 f.

[3] *Ass.*, XXXIX, 85.

distinction, and around the skull was some of the gold wire or gold strips noticed at Bifrons, Sarre, and other Kentish sites as well as at Taplow (p. 385). Near the head was placed a well-preserved wooden bucket mounted in bronze, $4\frac{3}{4}$ in. high and $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, and this was protected by slabs of chalk carefully placed above and around it. Among the ornaments were a button fibula with the usual full-faced head, two square headed brooches and a circular inlaid one, together with the remains of a Romano-British bronze enamelled fibula. Five bronze tags were at the waist and there were other small objects of the same material, together with two Roman coins pierced for suspension. No. 21 was the interesting plural interment mentioned previously (p. 158). Here were six skeletons apparently all of women and all deposited at the same time. 'This,' writes the explorer,[1] 'was a remarkable grave or rather vault. It contained six skeletons, all lying nearly north and south. It was of a circular shape, nearly nine feet in diameter' (and about 4 ft. 6 in. deep). 'The skeletons lay all on the same level. The skull of the second touched the left shoulder of the first, and the skull of the third the left shoulder of the second. The skulls of the other four were parallel with the shoulders of the second interment. The feet were curved round, and nearly all together, corresponding in some degree with the circular wall of the grave. The interments lay so close together that there was great difficulty in distinguishing the special relics of each.' Then follows an inventory of the copious tomb furniture. There were four or five necklaces of beads one or two of which 'consisted almost solely of small double and triple beads and bugles,' and there were two of the blue Roman melon beads, in both cases an early symptom. A silver plate fibula of quatrefoil shape closely set with twelve garnets conveys the same impression as to date, and so does a small circular garnet fibula, and a bronze object catalogued as

[1] Mr. John Brent in *Archaeologia*, XLI, 413.

a fibula but evidently part of a horse trapping of the pattern of Pl. c, 4 (p. 423). The inlaid square headed fibula 3¼ in. long, the bronze and iron buckles, the bronze suspension rings or annular brooches, the spiral silver finger ring found encircling a phalanx, etc., etc., have no special significance but serve to convey the impression of remarkable richness of equipment in the unique interment.

The excavations of 1881 produced ordinary objects, but grave no. 6, oriented north and south, contained a body in the crouching position, by the right side of which was a spear head 21 in. long and a 'knife' 15 in. long, 'on which was laid a smaller knife 8 in. long. Both had evidently been contained in the same sheath.'

As regards chronology the first half of VI may be set down as a probable average date for the Stowting interments.

III. CEMETERIES OF THE LESSER STOUR VALLEY

As we have noted above (p. 696) cemeteries begin here near the mouth of the stream at Stodmarsh and continue till beyond Barham, while there have been grouped with these two outlying sites inland from Dover, Barfriston and Sibertswold. Now it is a remarkable fact that all these cemeteries save one are comparatively late, the objects found in them suggesting dates not earlier than the latter half of VI and running on to the middle of VII, whereas in one case, that of Bifrons, about half-way up the valley, we find a cemetery of the same class as Ozengell or Sarre, the use of which may well have been begun by a community settled in its chosen seat in the last half of V. The site of Bifrons on the south-eastern slope of the valley of the Lesser Stour is at the same time close to the line of the Roman road from Dover to Canterbury, and the settlement or settlements which it served may quite well have been formed by early immigrants who were advancing along that thoroughfare from east to west. The other cemeteries

appear rather to be the result of the later peaceful penetration of settlers to the country sites up river valleys and in the hollows of downs, that suited their tastes and mode of life. It is true that Wingham and Wickhambreux are near the line of road from Richborough westwards, but the objects found on these sites are comparatively late as are those in the other cemeteries of the group, excluding of course Bifrons. Most of the sites, but not Bifrons nor the three mentioned just below, are those of cemeteries excavated by Bryan Faussett in XVIII, and inventorized in the often quoted publication that embodies his reports.

Near the lower reaches of the stream at WINGHAM, WICKHAMBREUX, and STODMARSH a few graves have been opened that revealed some objects of great artistic interest. From eight graves at the first named place the British Museum has been enriched with some fine inlaid jewels of the class characteristic of Kent, as well as other objects, some of which were illustrated by Akerman when they were in the collection of the finder Lord Londesborough. A disc fibula and a bracteate-like pendant he figures in *Pagan Saxondom*, pl. XI, 1 and 4, a pin with jewelled head, pl. XL, 3, a cast bronze bowl, pl. X. At WICKHAMBREUX[1] another bronze bowl was found together with a sword, near the hilt of which lay a jewelled stud not unlike those which have been noted in connection with other cemeteries, Pl. CXLVII, 4, 8, 9 (p. 537). Here also was a lobed beaker of glass. STODMARSH[2] a mile to the west of the stream produced ornamented fibulae, buckles, and studs, and a jewelled spoon with perforated bowl. The objects are now in the British Museum.

The cemetery at BIFRONS has already been brought prominently before the attention of the reader (pp. 27 f., 150, 168 f., 192 f., and, in connection with the plates, *passim*). The name, a whimsical appellation of XVIII, applies to the house, in the park attached to which the cemetery was dis-

[1] *Arch. Cant.*, XVII. [2] *Archaeologia*, XXXVI, 179 f.

covered. It lies on a slightly levelled site half-way up the hill above the stream. The land had been under the plough and no tumuli were to be seen. In 1866 some twenty graves were opened,[1] and in 1867 ninety-one, the contents of which are described grave by grave by Godfrey Faussett in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vols. x and xiii. The objects found are for the most part in the Museum of the Kent Archaeological Society at Maidstone. At the same time that this systematic exploration was going on, a responsible servant of the proprietor, Lord Conyngham, was opening a number of others, with due care but without any note of the special contents of each grave, and the objects from these embracing many of great interest are preserved at Bifrons House. No plans were made, but we are told that some of the graves from no. 70 onwards were laid in a very even line. The graves were as a rule shallow ones, in the chalk under the supersoil, and there were some traces of coffins. There were several cases of double interments and in no. 83, a kind of pit, there were five bodies. The orientation was remarkable (p. 168 f.), and tall stature of women as well as men was inferred by the explorers from the skeletons they laid bare. A warrior in grave 72 was credited with a stature of 6 ft. 3 in., and was armed with sword, spear, shield and knife, and it was reported of some of the shields that from the position of the umbos in the graves they must have been oblong rather than round. This was observed in graves 34, 37 and 39, and in no. 37 there were indications of the former presence of wood along the left side of the body which suggested to the explorer a bow, for the right side was occupied by a spear of which the head was beside the right cheek and the ferule near the feet. A double grave, no. 64, showed, below, a female skeleton with some gold strips and, above, a male skeleton with an iron 'dagger.'

Any analysis of the Bifrons tomb furniture would be super-

[1] *Arch. Cant.*, vi, 329.

fluous, as specimens of all the characteristic items have been already figured and described in the preceding chapters. A note may however here be added on the specially early objects found at Bifrons which justify its separation from the other burial grounds of this group that may conveniently be termed the 'Faussett' cemeteries.

The most striking point of difference between Bifrons and cemeteries like Kingston or like King's Field, Faversham, is the absence from the former of the usual Kentish garnet inlaid work especially in the form of the more ornate disc fibulae such as those shown Pll. CXLV, 1 to 4; CXLVI, 1 to 4 (pp. 533, 535) or on the Frontispiece to Vol. III, and the jewelled buckle plates of triangular or other forms, such as Pl. B, IV, right (p. 353). These pieces are so thoroughly Kentish that their absence from a conspicuous cemetery of at least 150 graves is remarkable and only to be explained by the fact that they are late, belonging to VII, when the use of the Bifrons cemetery must have been over. The Bifrons inlaid brooches Pl. CXLV, 6, 7, 8 (p. 533) with their close settings are of the earliest type, or like Pl. XXXVI, 10 (p. 245) are of the intermediate age. Of the early round headed radiating fibulae four specimens were found. Some of the small square headed brooches on the top line of Pl. XXXIV (p. 245) can be shown to be of early date by a comparison with finds at Chatham (p. 740), but it is the cruciform brooches that are specially significant. Brooches of this type have been shown to furnish a differentia between Anglian and Saxon tomb furniture (pp. 586, 624) being characteristic of the former but a very rare ingredient in the latter. Kent for some reason is better supplied in proportion than the Saxon districts and about ten examples are known of which five are furnished by Bifrons. Pl. XXXV, 5, 10, 12, figure three of them, and like the rest of the five they are of the kind that have the side knobs detached, indicating a date somewhere about 500 A.D. In one Bifrons tomb there was a collection of objects to which on comparative grounds a

similar date has been assigned. Most of these objects are figured Pll. xxxiv, 10, 11; xxxvi, 6, 8; xciv, 2; cix, 2. The bracteate with the intelligible figure of a leaping man, Pl. cvii, 8, left hand (p. 453) is early. Buckles with the romanizing animal heads of early type are shown on the Bifrons card Pl. lxx, 6, 9 (p. 347).

At no great distance from Bifrons, but above and to the east of the valley, Faussett in 1773 opened forty-five graves between Adisham and Beakesbourne. The location was, in Faussett's words, 'as usual, on the crest of a very high part of the Down,' where there were to be seen two or three groups of tumuli, large and small, the most considerable being 70 ft. in diameter and 10 in height. Two skeletons were within it (no. 44). The graves were cut in the chalk and the tumuli heaped over them, coffins being sometimes used. With few exceptions the feet pointed east. This was a case where signs of earlier cremated burials were frequently observed, in no fewer than eight instances out of the forty-five, though actual remains of burnt bones are not notified. In no. 16 was a patera of 'Samian' or, as Faussett calls it, 'fine coralline' ware as well as a cinerary urn. There were coins of Maximian and Diocletian, and in no. 30 an interesting find of ornamented leather, that seems to have formed part of a child's belt. This has a very Roman appearance, and may be compared with the Roman ornamented leather from Newstead in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. A few arms were found but there was little else. The objects are at Liverpool.

Several sites in the valley about Bishopsbourne and above it were excavated in XVIII and again about 1844. In 1749 three graves were opened in what was then a wood near Bishopsbourne and the bodies were found oriented with feet to the north. Faussett opened some in 1771 and he stated that there were at the time about 100 tumuli visible in the park of Bourne Place. In the first volume of the *Archaeological Journal* Thomas Wright gives a circumstantial report

of the opening of three barrows at BOURNE PARK in 1844.[1] 'As in all Saxon barrows,' he writes, 'the deposit is not in the mound itself, but in a rectangular grave dug into the chalk.' Two of the graves were very spacious, measuring about 14 ft. in length with a width of 6 to 7 ft. and a depth of 3 ft., and Fig. 26 gives his sketch of the section of them with the tumuli above. The other grave was smaller and appeared to be that of a woman. In each of the three there seems to have been a bucket.



FIG. 26.—Section of Barrow Graves at Bourne Park, Kent.

No. 1 furnished part of a sword blade but the contents of no. 3 were of much interest.[2] There was a bucket about 1 ft. in height and diameter, a conical shield boss and perhaps a spear head, with the very unusual item of a horse's bit, with which may be compared the find Pl. c, 1 (p. 423) from Gilton, no. 83. There was also a beaten bowl 'of very thin copper' with iron handles, about 1 ft. across by 2½ in. in depth, and strongly gilt. There were also two counters, one of bone and one made out of a piece of 'Samian' ware, but there was no trace either of the bones of a skeleton or of ashes.[3] The graves lay nearly north and south.

The village of KINGSTON lies in the valley of the Lesser Stour far below the ridge along which runs the Roman Road to Dover. 'Near the top of the hill,' writes Faussett,[4] 'on the hanging side of it, which fronts to the north-west . . . are a number of "tumuli sepulchrales," or hemispherical mounds of earth, of various heights and diameters, which stand pretty close and contiguous to each other.' Two hundred and sixty-three of these barrows were opened by Faussett in the years

[1] The account is given also in *Inv. Sep.*, 95, note.

[2] T. Wright, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, Lond., 1875, p. 468.

[3] 'It was, in fact, an Anglo-Saxon cenotaph.' ibid., p. 469.

[4] *Inv. Sep.*, p. 35.

from 1767 to 1773, and besides these he rifled forty-five graves not marked by tumuli on the same site, and the contents of the whole three hundred and eight tombs were systematically described in his own excellent fashion. This is for the number of the interments examined the largest English cemetery of which a definite record was kept, but although it has the distinction of having produced the finest piece in all Anglo-Saxon grave furniture, it was not on the whole richly endowed. No plan is given, but it was remarked by the editor[1] that a set of graves about no. 25 seemed to belong to the humbler section of the community, while it may be added that about no. 92 were many graves of children. More than 95 per cent. of the bodies had the feet towards the east, and Faussett notes that the graves which furnished exceptions to this orientation 'were always, and without a single exception, found at the extreme verge, or utmost limits, of the burying ground.'[2] The graves were 'regularly and neatly cut out of the firm chalk,' and in 183 cases Faussett found indications of coffins and about half of these seemed to him to show traces of having passed the fire. There were 13 cases in which more than one body was found in a grave, and three graves, nos. 142, 205, and 299, are singled out from all the rest by their exceptional richness in furniture. In 205, a grave 10 ft. by 8 ft. and 6 ft. in depth, a child seemed to have been buried previously to the interment of the chief occupant, who was presumably its mother. Arms indicated male interments in 43 cases and women were diagnosed through beads, etc., in 54. There were 31 graves of children.

There were four cases in which earlier interments had been disturbed, nos. 1, 4, 23, 137, and in no. 4 burnt bones were actually discovered. No. 178 produced a patera of red 'Samian' ware, and there were Roman coins in five graves. Among these was one of the Emperor Claudius, 41-54 A.D., that was much worn and had been pierced for suspension, but

[1] *Inv. Sep.*, p. 48, note. [2] ibid., p. 40.

the rest were all of the last half of III and the first half of IV, from Gallienus, 260–, to Constantine, –337, and this shows that comparatively early coins may occur in late cemeteries. From the chronological point of view the little objects shown Pl. x, 2 (p. 115) are the most interesting in the cemetery. They are two little equal armed crosses of silver, less than ¾ in. across, that were each made up with back pieces, and a filling of some cement held in position by a silver rim, into the form of a pendant. They are clearly of Christian origin. They were found in the richly furnished woman's grave no. 142.

At Kingston weapons were not nearly so much in evidence as in the cemeteries nearer the coast, and there were only three doubtful cases of swords. Some very small heads of darts left Faussett uncertain whether they were meant for children or were really arrow heads—a class of objects very rarely represented in Anglo-Saxon graves (p. 241). Knives made their appearance in 144 graves, in those of children and females as well as of men.

In the matter of personal ornaments we are met by something of a paradox, for while grave 205 contained the famous Kingston fibula, sufficient in itself to make the fortune of a cemetery, and four other fine disc fibulae inlaid with garnets were also found (two in grave 299), yet with a couple of trifling exceptions no other fibulae came to light. Only a mile or two away at Bifrons, a cemetery only half as large as Kingston yielded up the varied collection of fibulae of all sorts of types which has been noticed above Pll. xxxiv, v, vi, (p. 245), but in place of the square and round headed 'long' fibulae, the bird fibulae, the little button and saucer ones, and the rest, we only find at Kingston beside the four discs a couple of primitive-looking little wire safety pins Fig. 10 (p. 249) that seem to have fastened the hose of the lady on whose breast blazed the great Kingston gem. It is to be explained by chronology (p. 546 f.) that the inlayed disc fibulae

so well represented here were just the one kind lacking at Bifrons. The silver rings with sliding knots (p. 455) were largely in evidence and some had evidently been earrings. Nearly fifty graves contained beads, and amethystine beads and pendants, rather a Kentish speciality, were represented in exceptional abundance.

In the department of vessels, there were two bronze bowls with the rich interment 205, and in no. 76 a bronze bowl with the scutcheons ornamented with Late-Celtic patterns (p. 475 f.). Urns and glass vessels were fairly represented. The graves being so numerous we should expect a harvest of miscellaneous objects, and in nine graves there were traces of the wooden boxes that seem to have contained little personal belongings of the ladies (p. 417). A dainty little bronze workbox from grave 222 contained two needles. There were half-a-dozen pairs of shears. Two ivory sticks in no. 299 may have been spindles, and their pointed ends would fit into the holes in the exceptionally large beads that are not seldom found and are probably spindle whorls. A double-toothed comb appeared in 302, two Cypraea shells in 142 and 299, and there was a crystal ball in no. 6 but no perforated spoon. The strike-a-light also occurred in a female grave, no. 299.[1]

Breach Down is the name of a cemetery on high ground located about a mile to the west of the Canterbury and Dover road. Here in 1841 Lord Albert Conyngham, F.S.A., 'counted one hundred and three tumuli upon that part of the Downs near the village of Barham,' and in the autumn of that year he opened sixty-five, communicating his results to the Society of Antiquaries in whose *Archaeologia*, vol. xxx, they were published. In 1844 eight more were opened,[2] and a similar number in the succeeding year. The drawing reproduced in Fig. 7 (p. 179) conveys a good idea of the impression made by these groups of primeval-looking sepulchres on the

[1] The Kingston finds are in the Mayer-Faussett collection at Liverpool.

[2] *Arch. Journ.*, 1, 379.

bare and deserted downs. They vary in size and one, which was found empty, was 132 ft. in circumference by 8 ft. in height. The graves as usual were cut in the chalk subsoil and all were oriented east and west save no. 8 of 1844 which had the feet pointing north. It was reported of the skulls that they seemed of rather a low type.

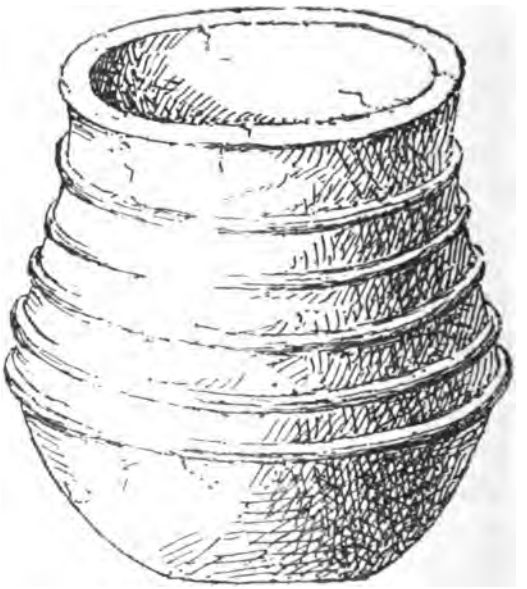


Fig. 27.—Urn from Breach Down.

There were two cases of intrusive burial of which no. 32 was the most interesting. Here was an interment of a Jutish warrior with a sword, 2 ft. 6 in. long with 'four small buckles lying about the middle of the sword blade' (a phrase that rather suggests the studs on the scabbards of the long scrama-saxes found on the Continent), an umbo, a spear head, and 'at the head of the grave a ribbed urn of red pottery containing calcined bones.' The urn is engraved,[1] and is shown in Fig. 27. It will be seen that it is girt with projecting horizontal bands that will be at once recognized as Late-Celtic

[1] *Archaeologia*, xxx, 47.

in character. This is of considerable importance as fixing the approximate period of the earlier burial. The date of the Anglo-Saxon interments may be judged from the pin with cross-head, Pl. x, 5 (p. 115). For the sceat coins found on this site see (p. 109).

The objects found were as a rule unimportant. There were three swords, of which two were accompanied by spears. Knives were as usual very common. In grave 52, by far the most richly furnished of all and attested as female by a small disc fibula, a silver bracelet, and some beads, there lay upon the pelvis a massive silver buckle with triangular shaped plate of gold on which was a pattern of interlaced beasts, an obviously late object. In no. 49 was found part of the jawbone of a horse, and the discovery of pyrites in no. 28 reminds us of a similar find in the South Saxon cemetery between Glynde and Ringmer and in that at Alfriston Pl. xcviii, 5 (p. 415).

The above concludes the list of known cemeteries in or about the valley of the Lesser Stour. On the other side of the ridge that carries the Roman road, three or four miles east of Breach Down, lies the important joint cemetery of Sibertswold and Barfriston, of which we learn in the *Inventorium Sepulchrale*. The ground here is undulating but presents no marked elevations. At Sibertswold,—the two cemeteries though practically continuous are separately enumerated—Faussett opened 181 graves, and it is worth noting, as bearing on the varying conditions governing preservation of the contents of graves, that in a set of tombs which, in the absence of a plan, may be assumed to be contiguous there were the following differences:—in no. 33 the bones were pretty perfect, in 35 sound, but in 34, 36, and 37 they were almost gone. Almost all the graves were under tumuli and in one hundred and eleven there were traces of coffins that appeared to have been made very solidly, the wood often seeming about 3 in. thick. In one case, the very rich burial no. 172, the coffin had been 'strengthened by

eighteen pieces of iron, each having a strong rivet at each end, and three iron staples.' Only five graves varied from the usual eastward orientation and of these the bodies in nos. 13 and 14 had the feet to the north, while in nos. 136 and 160 there were in each case two interments under one mound one of each pair having the feet to the north while the companion body lay east and west. In no. 34 a child's body pointed with its feet to the west (p. 189). Weapons indicated males in 41 cases; beads, etc., females in 41, and there was a group of males with weapons occupying 9 graves out of the 11 between nos. 105 and 115. There were several instances of plural interments beneath a single tumulus. Wedded pairs seem to have lain in nos. 86-7 and 102-3; in the latter case both were aged, in the former there was a transverse fosse forming a communication between the two graves which lay parallel and about 2 ft. apart. A mother and child seem to have occupied under one tumulus nos. 172 and 173, and in grave 6, 5 ft. deep, there were 'at least four' skeletons. There were one or two graves, notably 172, with abundant furniture.

As is so often the case in this region there was ample evidence here that the site or part of it had been used for sepulchral purposes in Romano-British times. A gruesome incident narrated by Faussett brings this fact into clearest light.[1] The farmer who used the land on which some of the tumuli were situated told him that a couple of years earlier his men had found 'in two holes or nests' a couple of large urns of about the capacity of a bushel each 'entirely full of pieces of men's bones, which plainly appeared to have been burnt.' In the true spirit of reverence for the past they immediately set the treasures upon end and were found 'busy in pelting the jars with some large pieces of very hard stone, which they had ploughed up at the time they found them'! When Faussett visited the place of execution he found it littered with 'a vast number of sherds of paterae of fine coralline

[1] *Inv. Sep.*, p. 127.

earth' ('Samian' ware), 'and other vessels of different materials, colours, and sizes,' and he noted the inscription PRIMITIVI on the bottom of one of the paterae. In tumulus 164 two earlier cinerary urns were found, with 'many pieces of burnt bones.'

In the matter of weapons five swords are reported, in each case accompanied by a spear or a dart. A sort of dagger, in no. 177, had a bronze pommel of curious form, and a blade 13¼ in. long, and weapons which Faussett calls 'knives' are given lengths in the blade of 20 in. (no. 45), 10½ in. (no. 58), and 9 in. (no. 95). In 58 there was a spear head which seems to have had the remarkable length of about 2 ft. 2 in., and in 98 the head of a barbed dart about 11 in. long. It was noticed in several cases that the javelin heads were reversed, with the points towards the feet, e.g. nos. 150, 157, 176. Umbos, conical and hemispherical, were in evidence.

The contents of the female graves were varied and abundant, and a speciality of the cemetery was the exceptional collection of pendants found in grave 172 and figured Pl. CIII, 1 (p. 427), the rest of the ornaments and feminine impedimenta being of the kinds represented at Kingston and in the other 'Faussett' cemeteries.

The vessels comprised a considerable number of urns, in nearly a score of graves, three glass cups, two of which were in the male grave 157, and the very curious find of a couple of small wooden bowls or drinking cups, which Faussett estimated would hold about a pint apiece. Both of them were bound with bronze round the lip and one had a number of straps of bronze riveted on in a very curious and irregular fashion. There are several examples of the discovery in cemeteries of ornamental metal edgings to bowls of the kind, e.g. Pl. LXVIII, 1 (p. 341), but this find of the wooden bowls themselves, in grave 69, was quite exceptional. The objects from here and Barfriston are at Liverpool.

BARFRISTON, an adjoining cemetery though separately enumerated by Faussett, offered the contents of forty-eight

graves, all under tumuli and ranged in the general direction east and west, with coffins that all showed marks of burning in about half the number. There were the usual traces of earlier cremated burials in some tumuli about No. 26 and elsewhere. A 'Samian' ware fragment appeared in No. 39, and a narrow necked vase apparently Roman in 25, while four graves had urns (not cinerary) contemporary with the interments. In the vase just mentioned there were some coins, one of Constantine, and one of Theodosius the Great 378-395 A.D. A bronze buckle suite was shown Pl. LXXIV, 1 (p. 357). In grave 38 there was a pierced bronze plate very like a Frankish girdle ornament, Pl. XCII, 3 (p. 401).

Besides the above, and a single sword, there was nothing of special interest in the cemetery, but the usual objects were fairly represented. There were five vessels of glass, one of which is figured Pl. CXXII, 3 (p. 481).

IV. CEMETERIES OF THE GREATER STOUR VALLEY

CHARTHAM DOWN. This site is three or four miles to the south-west of Canterbury between the roads leading to Chilham and to Wye, half a mile to the south of Chartham church, and on the slope that leads past the present County Asylum towards the fine upland crossed at a height of 350 feet by the Stone Street. Here was to be seen in XVIII a collection of about a hundred tumuli, twenty of which were opened as early as 1730 by Dr. Mortimer, secretary to the Royal Society, and his report on them is printed by Douglas in the *Nenia Britannica*, p. 99 f.,[1] where is also given a plan of the tumuli that is reproduced here in Fig. 28. It is interesting to know that Bryan Faussett, then a boy of ten, gained his first experience in work of the kind by watching the proceedings, while later on, in 1764 and 1773, he himself examined the contents of fifty-

[1] And also, with omissions, in the *Inv. Sep.*, p. 162 f.

three more of the tumuli. When however Charles Roach Smith published the *Inventorium Sepulchrale* in 1856 the down land had been brought into cultivation and not a vestige of a mound was to be seen. Faussett's later investigations were not very fruitful and he found nearly half the graves unfurnished, but the earlier excavations produced some good results, and Mortimer's account of the opening of the first tumuli, A, B, and C on the plan, Fig. 28, is interesting enough to be quoted. They were each about 23 ft. in diameter and 3 ft. high. 'On opening the top they found in these, as in all the others,

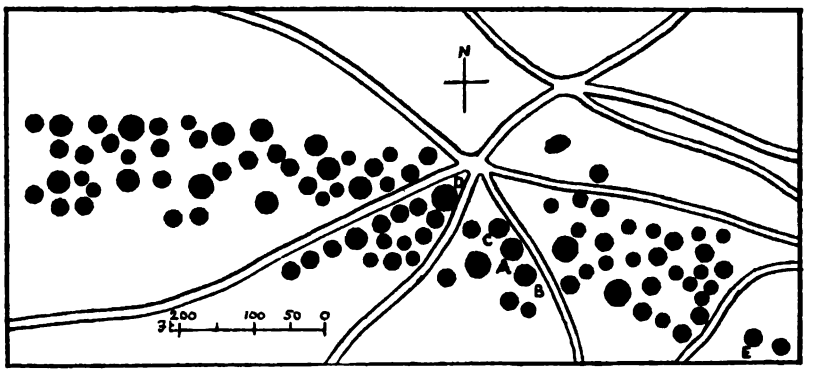


Fig. 28.—Plan of Tumuli on Chartham Down in 1730.

somewhat more than a foot of common earth; then chalk rubbish for about two feet, which was easily removed with a spade. But when they came to the level of the basis, or a little lower, they found the natural soil to be solid chalk, in which was hewn a trench about eight feet long, two broad, and one and a half deep, and commonly running nearly east and west. This trench seems to have supplied the place of a coffin to the deceased. The bones of one person (sometimes the skeleton nearly whole and entire), with the head to the west, lying at the bottom of them; in some with large flint stones ranged on each side of the body, in order, I suppose, to keep the earth from pressing on the corpse; and all the rest was filled with chalk rubbish, lightly flung in, so that

even now it could be removed by the hands.' The contents of the grave were valuable and included a fine disc fibula of an uncommon pattern figured by Douglas pl. v, no. 1, fig. 1, two garnet pendants, one gold pendant of the bracteate form with an unmistakable cross worked into the design of the centre,[1] a crystal ball, a bronze bowl and two vessels of glass. Tumulus B contained indications of an earlier cremated interment. Another gold bracteate pendant with very curious interlacing pattern stamped upon it was in tumulus E, and is figured by Akerman on the plate referred to in note 1. Pins, buckles, and beads, weapons of the usual kinds, and some miscellaneous objects of no great importance completed the inventory of the contents of these twenty barrows.

In the fifty-three graves mostly oriented east and west that were explored by Faussett in 1764 and 1773 one or two objects of special interest came to light, but it is curious that, with the exception of what he suggests was a 'toy' pilum, with head 5½ in. long, not a single weapon made its appearance. Grave 9 produced a notable object in the form of a small silver pendent cross of the Latin form, shown Pl. x, 3 (p. 115), while to set against this no. 16 offered a Roman bronze key and two Roman bracelets of bronze and no. 26 a Roman *stylus*, 7 in. in length. In 48 there were the bronze mountings of a wooden drinking cup, like those in grave 69 at Sibertswold. A unique object was the hanger and hooks for supporting a pot over the fire (p. 416).

CRUNDALE and WYE are situated on the eastern side of the valley of the Great Stour two thirds of the way from Canterbury to Ashford. On the downs above the villages numerous graves have been opened. There have to be noticed, (1) excavations made by Faussett on Tremworth Down by Crundale in 1757 and 9, and, (2) sundry scattered discoveries of which notes are given in the *Victoria History*[2] that have

[1] It is figured by Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xi, 3.

[2] Kent, i, p. 368.

enriched the British Museum with one or two articles of special interest.

(1) Faussett's discoveries were made 'on the north-west side of a very dry and pretty steep hill; the top of which commands a very extensive and beautiful prospect.'[1] The site however was not chosen by the Teutonic immigrants, for the cemetery was really Romano-British and the Jutish burials were intrusive. The diggings were the first in point of time to which Faussett set his hand, and it has been pointed out that the fact that most of the objects he found here were Roman fixed the idea in his mind that all similar burying grounds in the county would be of the same character, and led to the curious result referred to (p. 123). Faussett opened twenty-seven graves none of which were under tumuli, and he is careful to note their exceptional orientation. The skeletons had their feet to the west, an orientation which he tells us in a later note written apparently in the autumn of 1773 (see *Inv. Sep.*, p. 198) he had only observed once in all his researches, namely in Kingston, no. 149, a burial of a young person. Everywhere else he says, 'at Ash, Chartham, Kingston, Bishopsbourne, Sibertswold, and Barfriston . . . they were found, in general, with their feet pointing to the east, or near it,' though, he adds, 'some few, indeed, I have met with at some of those places, which pointed with their feet to the north, or near it.' In these 27 graves evidence that the body had been burned appeared in eleven cases, and in practically all these there were specimens of Roman pottery mostly in the form of 'Samian' ware. In no. 9 there was also a Roman fibula. All these cremated burials but one were in the first dozen opened by Faussett. Nos. 8 and 11, and all from no. 13 to no. 27 (except no. 21 which seems to have lain a little apart from those nearest it in the enumeration), contained unburnt skeletons, nos. 8, 18 and 26 being plural burials. The date of some of these interments with

[1] *Inv. Sep.*, 195.

unburnt bones can be fixed in the Jutish period by objects, such as beads, a pin, a buckle found with no. 18; an urn of Saxon type and a knife with no. 22, a skeleton about 6 ft. 6 in. in length; amber (?) beads, an iron chain and remains of a wooden coffer, and pendent knick-knacks in 24; but in other cases the appearance of remains of iron (25 and 26) or of a knife (13, 23) is not sufficient to decide whether the interment was before or after the Teutonic settlement. The blade of a knife was found in no. 9 with a cremated burial, Samian ware, and an undoubtedly Roman bronze fibula. With the skeleton in no. 24 was a coin of the younger Faustina, wife of Marcus Aurelius, and this fact is used by Faussett to date the burial back to the period of that emperor. His argument is of course a fallacious one and the burial was without doubt that of a Jutish lady. No urns of any sort were found either with the skeletons or with the ossuaries. The disposition of the latter is thus described; the 'bone-urns were all of them placed in round holes of about two feet diameter, and about as many deep, in general, in the firm chalk. They always occupied the centre of the hole (or nest, as I have ventured to term it); and the smaller and empty urns and paterae, which always accompanied them, were placed round them. There was never more than one ossuary in a hole, or nest.'[1] The phenomena thus described are of much interest, for the instance is the most conspicuous one in the county of that continuity in burial customs from the Romano-British to the Teutonic period to which attention has been directed (p. 694).

(2) The other discoveries were made casually at various dates, and many of the objects resulting from them were in the well-known Durden collection, which was dispersed without any full record being published of the provenance of the various items.

Two important objects figured on the plates come from

[1] *Inv. Sep.*, 196.

these sites and they are both of an advanced date. One is the sword pommel with interlacing ornament Pl. LXIII, 4 (p. 329), and the other the handsome late buckle with the Christian symbol of the fish, Pl. LXXIII, 1 (p. 355).

V. WATLING STREET CEMETERIES

KING'S FIELD, FAVERSHAM. The line of the Watling Street from Canterbury to London was as we have seen not markedly avoided by the Teutonic settlers as was the case with Roman roads in England generally. The richest of all the Jutish cemeteries abutted on it at a point near where it descends into the plain between the North Downs and the sea, after crossing the offshoot of the former that runs to the west of Canterbury. The situation was a favourable one for a settlement as there was easy access on the north to the sea, and here some distance to the north of the Roman thoroughfare was the old town of Faversham. The cemetery which has yielded up so many treasures lay between the town and the road and the site of it bore the name of The King's Field. Some time before 1860 the line of the London, Chatham and Dover railway cut through a portion of it and brought to light some graves the existence of which had been previously unsuspected.[1] From that date till 1894 the

[1] In connection with this cemetery, the writer acknowledges with gratitude the information kindly placed at his disposal by Mr. George Payne, F.S.A., who remembers the first cutting of the London, Chatham and Dover railway which led to the discovery, and has kept the explorations throughout under his attention; and also by Mr. J. Wilkie Morris, of Faversham, who has indicated to the writer the boundaries of the cemetery, and given to him interesting details. According to this local resident any one standing at the point where the road southwards over the down to Ashford leaves the main Roman road, and looking north past the station, would bisect by his line of sight the large plot wherein the interments were found. The boundaries are, roughly speaking, to the west Canute Road and Plantation Road, to the north Cross Lane and a prolongation of its line eastwards, while they reach on the east almost to the Recreation Ground, and cut

cemetery yielded a rich harvest, but there was at no time any scientific exploration nor any record of the position and contents of single graves nor indication of the local relations of the various graves one to the other. The ground between the railway and the Roman road, a quarter of a mile to the south, was topped with a stratum of brick earth in which the graves had been dug, and this earth was gradually removed during the period just indicated so that the present surface of the soil, now covered with small houses, is sensibly lower than the land in its environment. The graves came to light casually in the course of these operations as well as the earlier ones connected with the railway, and the objects found were sold by the workmen. A large number of specimens, some of which are of great interest and beauty, were collected by Mr. William Gibbs, of Faversham, and bequeathed by him in 1870 to the Science and Art Department. They are at present in the British Museum. Other objects passed into private collections, such as those of Mr. John Brent, F.S.A., Sir John Evans, and the late Mr. David Kennard of Linton near Maidstone. Some of the objects were once in the possession of a well-known burgess of Faversham who held the property of the brickfield, but so far as the writer has been able to ascertain Faversham itself has now nothing to show of all the treasures from her soil which she yielded up to strangers. The small local Museum has no single piece. No complete inventory of the finds was ever made and the private collections mentioned above are dispersed all but that of Mr. Gibbs. Of this a catalogue was drawn up by Charles Roach Smith and published by the Science and Art Department in 1871.

across from its south-west corner by St. Catherine's Church to this same corner of the Ashford Road. The Watling Street naturally forms the boundary to the south. The whole area on this showing would have measured about a sixth part of a square mile, but as has been noticed above no scientific record was kept of the positions or contents of the graves.

The cemetery is not on high ground, though there is a gentle slope from the site of it to the lower part of the pleasant town, and a much more pronounced elevation might have been secured within a mile or so in the direction of the downs, had any special point been made of this. No tumuli are mentioned as marking the graves, and no evidence of cremation of Jutish date seems to have come to light. The situation along the line of a Roman road may be considered to show amenability to classical influences which would of course be especially potent in Kent. A considerable amount of Roman pottery was found at or near the site which may have been used by the Romans for funereal purposes. Indications of early date exist, but in relation to the finds generally were not much in evidence. There is a round close-set garnet brooch in the British Museum ; also radiating brooches and a typical long cruciform fibula ending in the horse's head. Likewise a bronze plate for a belt ornament with a design incised on it that may be compared with similar work on objects of the romanizing type shown Pl. CLV, 1, 2 (p. 563). Two saucer brooches 2½ in. in diameter were also found. As indicating an advanced period there may be mentioned a disc fibula in the national collection that exhibits both the cross and the swastika in its design, while the cross with an undoubtedly Christian significance occurs on some bronze scutcheons for fixing the suspension loops for bronze bowls Pl. x, 6 (p. 115).

The Gibbs bequest is strong in the matter of arms. A faceted crystal sword pommel may be compared with a similar one from a Gothic grave in the Museum at Odessa, and there were several other sword blades, as well as a store of umbos, spear heads, and knives. Some bronze horse trappings are among the most showy examples of metal work of the kind that our Teutonic graves have yielded up to the light, Pl. CI, 2 (p. 423). The coarse interlacing work shows them to be of a date well on in VII.

The treasure in golden and inlaid ornaments for the person

gives its special distinction to the cemetery. The fine Kentish disc fibulae with garnet inlays, of the late VI and of VII, were much in evidence, and at least fifty examples must have been found on the site. Some rare forms of buckle are figured by Charles Roach Smith in *Collectanea Antiqua*, VI, pl. 24, and with them were found some strap ends. A buckle, silver gilt, with triangular plate with three round headed studs and an inlaid gold plate carrying zoomorphic ornament, is of a characteristically Kentish form. An ornamented pin for the hair Pl. LXXX, 1 (p. 369) carries on the top the figure of a bird resembling the bird fibulae common in Merovingian art. The presence of gold strip as in graves at Sarre, Bifrons, and elsewhere, may be signalized. Two small objects in gold are figured on the colour plate B, IV, middle (p. 353), but any list of such trinkets would necessarily have to be a long one. Faversham is just a site where imported objects might be expected to emerge, for the community it served was evidently a wealthy one, and the position of the place in the track of land commerce between the ports serving the Continent and London would bring it into touch with outland products. In the case of more than one object found on the site a foreign origin has been suggested, and one instance is the piece of silver-plated iron shown Pl. XVII, 5 (p. 175). Objects again not brought from overseas but belonging to other regions of England would not surprise us by their appearance in a place so very much in the world, where well-to-do people lived at a comparatively advanced period of Anglo-Saxon culture. In a charter of Coenwulf, King of Mercia, 811 A.D.,[1] the place is referred to as 'oppidum regis quod ab incolis ibi Fefresham appellatur,' and the traditional name 'The King's Field' is significant. The name, Mr. Morris says, inspired the diggers of the brickfield, so that they worked under great excitement expecting every moment to unearth the crown! The cemetery has a certain cosmopolitan aspect. The saucer brooches have

[1] Thorpe, *Diplomatarium Anglicum*, p. 57.

been explained on this ground (p. 628) and the same may be said of the object shown Pl. CLVIII, 4 (p. 807). This is a bronze girdle hanger (p. 394 f.) and is the only piece of the kind known to the writer as occurring in a cemetery south of the Thames (p. 398).

Under the heading vessels may be noticed the cast bronze bowl shown Pl. CXIV, 4 (p. 467), almost certainly an imported piece, the interesting feature about which is that it contains hazel nuts. Lindenschmit noted similar objects in a bronze bowl found in a woman's grave, no. 10, at Selzen in the Rhineland.[1]

Another bronze vessel was of the thin type, beaten and not cast; this had attached to it enamelled discs with hooks on their rims by which the bowl could be suspended. An ornamented rim of a drinking vessel is also to be noted. The pottery was not important and appeared to be largely Roman, but one urn figured in the *Victoria History*, p. 372, is of a pronounced Merovingian type. On the other hand there was a good display of glass, among other pieces being that shown Pl. CXXV, 1 (p. 485) which almost exactly resembles a glass vessel found near Alands in Gotland in a grave of VII, Pl. CXXV, 2.

Finds of garnet-mounted gold jewels, arms, etc., are reported from TEYNHAM, half way between Faversham and a site of some importance, SITTINGBOURNE, near which place several fields have yielded examples of Teutonic tomb furniture. Between 1825 and 1828 about fifty skeletons are said to have been disinterred in a stratum of brick earth, like that on the King's Field, Faversham, on a declivity north-west from Sittingbourne church.[2] There were no outward marks. The cemetery had been in use before, and earlier cremation interments, not in this case Romano-British but older and of the Bronze Age, were disturbed. There were both arms and

[1] *Das germanische Todtenlager bei Selzen*, p. 15.

[2] C. Roach Smith, *Coll. Ant.*, I, 97, quoting earlier reports.

ornaments of the usual kind, and among the latter was the very fine disc fibula of the 'Abingdon' type now in the Museum at Dover, Pl. CXLV, 3 (p. 533). At Dover also is the conical umbo, Pl. XXIII, 1 (p. 199) found here that seems the best extant one of its kind. There was also a melon shaped glass bead of Roman type. Again in 1880-1 discoveries were made at the western end of Sittingbourne, on a site where Romano-British cremated burials already existed. The Jutish interments numbered about forty and seem to have been of the late VI. Three large square headed fibulae set with garnets and worked with animal motives, and a fiddle shaped inlaid pendant, figured Pl. CXLVII, 7 (p. 543), are evidence of this. Here too was an iron spur, an object excessively rare in Anglo-Saxon graves (p. 421 f.).

MILTON-NEXT-SITTINGBOURNE was the scene of the discovery of some early objects amongst which is a cruciform fibula with loose knobs and a horse's head foot, in the Maidstone Museum, and, in the same collection, two of the round faceted bronze discs noticed among the romanizing bronze objects Pl. CLII (p. 558). Here too a Roman gold finger ring with sard intaglio was found with a skeleton accompanied by a glass vessel, a gilt bronze buckle, and an iron spear head. At UPCHURCH not far away there were discovered in 1852 a disc fibula inlaid in a star pattern, a green glass cup, amethyst beads, and a piece of Samian ware.[1]

Among the first discoveries of Teutonic remains in Kent that were properly published are those made by the Rev. James Douglas within the military lines on the downs above Chatham and described in *Nenia Britannica* under the headings Tumuli I-IV, VI, IX-XII, XVI-XX. Moreover some of the graves thus opened chanced to be among the earliest Teutonic interments in the country, so that the question naturally arises (p. 690 f.) whether the settlers in question had gradually advanced by the land route from Thanet westwards, or had

[1] *Coll. Ant.*, II, 161.

reached this locality at a bound by the direct access by water up the Medway. Evidence of interments had come to light as early as 1756 and Douglas from 1779 onwards opened fourteen of what he called 'tumuli.' As he remarks however, p. 3, note, that 'the soil is chalky, has been plowed over, gardens were upon it, and, before it was purchased for the King's service, there was a rope-walk precisely on the site of the *tumuli*,' there cannot have been much to show, and Douglas may have used the word 'tumulus' as equivalent to 'grave.' The site was the 'western slope of the steep hill, which faces the town of Rochester.' The bodies were as usual in cists excavated in the chalk and Douglas noted some indications of coffins.[1] The orientation was very noteworthy, and is described as generally in the meridian line, the feet pointing to the south, though in one or two cases the feet were turned to the north, and this was the case with the specially early female interment in tumulus II and the warrior's burial in tumulus I shown Pl. XIII, 2 (p. 126). The contents of the graves are systematically inventorized by Douglas and in most cases figured. They afford some valuable guidance as to date. One remarkable discovery in this respect was that of two female skeletons apparently in the same grave[2] but described separately in the *Nenia* under the headings 'Tumulus XVII' and 'Tumulus XVIII.' Douglas considered that the bodies were those of relatives or friends and that XVII was interred before the other. He distinguished the furniture of the two interments and it is remarkable that while that with XVIII is characteristically Teutonic the objects with XVII are just as distinctively Roman. Both bodies had their feet to the south. With XVII was a glass bracelet, two bronze bracelets and a bronze finger ring, all of Roman type, and another

[1] *Nen. Brit.*, p. 57, note. He adds however that in other cases the size of the shield which he gives at 30 in. renders the presence of a coffin very problematical.

[2] 'This grave or cist contained two female bodies.' *Nen. Brit.*, p. 58.

bronze bracelet with expanded ends of Celtic appearance. With XVIII on the other hand were a round headed radiating fibula set with garnets and with a diamond shaped foot,[1] a small square headed fibula, shoe shaped studs, some gold strip found near an ivory armilla and probably once worn on the arm, amber beads, etc., all familiar features in Jutish graves. In tumulus II there appeared two small round headed fibulae with three radiating knobs, and two square headed ones with linear ornament and with cross on foot, a perforated silver spoon inlaid with garnets found between the thigh bones, a small button fibula with head upon it, no fewer than ten silver wire rings strung with beads as if for earrings, and Roman coins of Anthemius, 467-472, and some other emperors. This is certainly a very early burial of the last part of V or the beginning of VI. Tumulus IV revealed a handsome late digitated fibula of silver,[2] a crystal ball with rings for suspension, amber beads, Roman coins, a glass cup, etc.; tumulus VI another small three knobbed radiating fibula and two square headed ones. In tumulus XX there was a small bronze Roman coin with helmed head and VRBS ROMA on the obverse and on the reverse a good example of the wolf and twins type with wolf's head turned towards the children and T H P below; also an open work knife handle with hound pursuing a hare, of the kind shown Pl. CLV, 3, 4 (p. 563). A disc fibula with keystone garnets was found in tumulus XII, and in XIX tweezers occurred in conjunction with the beads that indicate a feminine interment. Two arrow heads of iron are figured by Douglas from the cemetery. A large number of the objects found are in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

Writing in 1868, Charles Roach Smith[3] drew attention to the fact that Saxon cemeteries have not been found in any

[1] Figured *Nen. Brit.*, pl. XV, 5.

[2] ibid., pl. IV, 7.

[3] *Coll. Ant.*, V, 139; compare also Mr. John Brent in *Archaeologia*, XLI, 416 (1867).

obvious connection with the important Roman urban centres in Kent. This is as we have seen (p. 137 f.) notably true of Canterbury, for the capital, though on three sides of it there are excellent elevated sites for burial grounds of the Teutonic type, contributes no cemetery to the present list. It is true too of Dover, but Rochester, though it seemed to Mr. Roach Smith a case in point, is on rather a different footing. Not only, as we shall see presently, have Saxon interments been found close to the Roman burial place at Strood just on the other side of the Medway, but two places in ROCHESTER itself have yielded graves with Teutonic tomb furniture. At Star Hill, Eastgate, in 1852 twenty skeletons were found, accompanied with a Roman twisted bronze bracelet, five spear heads, a rectangular ornamented plaque with characteristic zoomorphic enrichment, a garnet keystone brooch and some beads; and again in 1892, near St. Margaret's church, several bodies were found in cists cut in the chalk with feet towards the east and enough tomb furniture to identify them as Jutish.

The case of STROOD on the other side of the Medway from Rochester has already been quoted (pp. 115 f., 138) as an example pointing to continuity in burial arrangements between Roman and Saxon. Another Jutish grave found casually about a mile west of this spot in 1859 contained, with other arms and characteristic objects, the rare weapon known as the angon (p. 238). Two localities up the Medway, Maidstone and Hollingbourne by the Len, yielded Anglo-Saxon objects, and in each case there was a contiguous deposit of urns that have been called 'cinerary.' There is no proof that they actually contained ashes, so the case cannot be considered one of Jutish cremation.

Reasons have been already given (p. 611) for regarding the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in North Kent to the west of the Medway as rather West Saxon in character than Jutish, and a

notice of these has been included in the chapter that deals with the settlements in the Thames Valley (p. 627 f.). A retrospective glance at the tomb furniture found on the Jutish sites now passed in review may here suitably be taken and a final word said upon the fascinating but very obscure 'Jutish question.'

The existence of a 'Jutish question' is due to the paradoxical character of the phenomena involved. Bede derives the Jutes from the northern part of the 'Cimbric' peninsula, and Bede's statement is generally acknowledged to carry very great weight. In Jutish graves in Kent there are found objects of two classes that are specially characteristic of Scandinavia, bracteates and cruciform brooches, and so far archaeological evidence strengthens Bede's position. On the other hand however, the overwhelming majority of the objects in Jutish graves have no special affinities with the North but rather with the Rhineland and with northern Gaul, and this makes it impossible to accept Bede's statement as involving a direct migration of the Jutish population from Jutland to Kent and Hampshire. Some compromise is clearly necessary. Either the Jutes were a homogeneous people, in which case we must assume that they reached our shores not directly from their northern seats but after a preliminary sojourn somewhere near the mouths of the Rhine; or the Jutes were a composite people, one section coming from the North and bringing with them the traditions of Jutland, and another section consisting in tribes that had descended at an earlier date towards the South and had had time before the migration to England to assimilate Rhineland and Frankish culture. This Jutish question is discussed by Mr. Thurlow Leeds in the last chapter of his *Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements* and a perusal of his well balanced arguments will furnish much material for thought to those interested in this somewhat complicated but very interesting subject. Mr. Leeds emphasizes the importance of Frisia as an intermediary between

Jutland and the Rhine district, and points out the rather significant fact that in the modern Friesland discoveries have been made of the same two classes of northern objects which we have just noticed as intrusive elements in Jutish graves—bracteates and cruciform brooches. Pl. CVII, 7 (p. 454) shows three bracteates at Leeuwarden from Frisian terpen, the central one of which closely resembles in design some of the bracteates from grave 4 at Sarre, such as the one in the right hand bottom corner of the plate. Two Frisian cruciform brooches at Leeuwarden are shown Pl. CLVIII, 1, 3 (p. 807). Hence a hypothesis which Mr. Leeds seems to adumbrate is a plausible one, that genuine Jutes from Jutland, headed by the sept that later on furnished the Kentish royal house the genealogy of which is thoroughly northern, filtering as it were through the intermediate Frisian region, amalgamated in the Rhineland with a contingent of the Ripuarian Franks, and that the two sections combined formed the population that ultimately settled in Kent.

Rhineland cemeteries unquestionably exhibit very many close parallels with the regular Jutish tomb furniture, excluding the bracteates and the cruciform brooches, and the connection with the Rhineland is made closer by the bottle shaped vases found in Kent and on the Rhine, though not in Merovingian Gaul. The supposition that any large body of the Kentish settlers were actually of Frankish race may seem hazardous, as if this were the case we should expect a closer correspondence than actually obtains between Kentish and Frankish culture generally, reckoning institutions as well as material objects represented in the tomb furniture.

It is not possible to enter into any detailed discussion of these questions which would involve the marshalling of linguistic and philological arguments as well as those drawn from records and from archaeology. It is sufficient to have presented the archaeological evidence connected with the problem of the Jutes, and to have indicated certain hypotheses on

which this may be reconciled with the evidence drawn from other sources.

THE JUTISH SETTLEMENTS: HAMPSHIRE AND THE ISLE OF WIGHT

It is notorious that Bede's statement about the settlement of Jutes in the Isle of Wight and on the opposite coast[1] is borne out by discoveries made in Teutonic cemeteries on the Island which have yielded objects strikingly resembling those found in Kentish graves, but when the first volume of the *Victoria History* of Hants was published in 1900 Mr. Reginald Smith could only say that 'up to the present time no discoveries on the coast opposite the Island have revealed any trace of Jutish occupation.' Soon after that date however a Teutonic cemetery was opened at Droxford in the Meon country about eight miles north of Fareham,[2] and the contents, now in the British Museum, supply archaeological evidence that confirms, though in no very striking fashion, the statement of the father of English history. Finds in the Isle of Wight consist partly in objects that are of a specially Kentish character and only occur rarely in other districts. The Droxford objects comprise nothing of a kind not found in the Island and in Kent, and one piece strikingly resembles Kentish work. The cemetery may fairly be regarded as Jutish.

The discoveries at DROXFORD were made in connection with railway works on the line from Fareham to Alton and there was no outward indication of the cemetery. The area of it was confined to the summit of a hill and the interments

[1] How much of the opposite coast was thus settled is uncertain. Bede's words in *Hist. Eccl.*, iv, 16 denote the Meon district watered by the Hamble (if this be equivalent to 'Homelea') as Jutish land, but the Jutes may have settled also to the west of Southampton water. The evidence is discussed in the *Victoria History*, Hants, i, p. 380 f.

[2] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd Ser., xix, 125.

were numerous and close together. Some bodies lay east and west but others were ranged from north to south. There was no indication of cremation nor of any earlier use of the site for burials. The cemetery agreed with some of those in Kent, such as Sarre, and also with the South Saxon Kingston-by-Lewes, in the large display of arms, but in ornamental objects it was poor and pottery was very sparingly represented. A cross bow brooch, a survival from Roman times, may be taken as an indication of early date, and the number of weapons points in the same direction.

These weapons included no fewer than 6 swords, 32 spear heads, 8 umbos with three well preserved shield handles, and it is noteworthy that with one of the swords there were found two unusually large spear heads. Small saucer brooches of the button type, found in Kent and also more abundantly among the South Saxons, occurred, but the small square headed brooches constituted a more striking point of similarity, for kindred objects are characteristic of the Isle of Wight finds and also occur at Bifrons and elsewhere in Kent. There were Roman coins of M. Aurelius and Faustina as well as others of later date.

The Museum at Winchester contains some objects found at BROCKBRIDGE, between SOBERTON and Droxford, including two interesting saucer fibulae of late character, Pl. LXVIII, 5 (p. 341), the foot part of what was probably a round headed radiating brooch, and a bronze mounted bucket—objects not specially Jutish in character, and, on the evidence of the saucer brooches, not of early date.

The downs in the south-west portion of the ISLE OF WIGHT were studded in parts with Celtic barrows, and intrusive Jutish burials have been found in some of these. Excavations on Brightstone and Bowcombe Downs, about 1850-60, are recorded in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vols. XI, 34, 177 f., and XVI, 253 f. A barrow on BOWCOMBE DOWN 62 ft. in diameter with an

elevation of about 6 ft. revealed intrusive Saxon interments.[1] There were a fine sword with part of its wooden scabbard and bronze chape still preserved, some good spear heads, one 18½ in. long with part of the shaft still in the socket, an umbo with silver plated rivets of bronze, a knife 7 in. long. A female skeleton was found in a crouching posture with an iron knife grasped in her left hand. She had a bead necklace and a saucer shaped button brooch with full-faced head.[2] A male skeleton lying north and south had at the right side of the waist three gilded bronze button brooches and a fourth under the chest, while there also appeared the remarkable feature of a Romano-British enamelled bronze brooch with the design of a hare. It is figured Pl. CLVIII, 6 (p. 807). Near the knee were six large beads which it is remarkable (p. 435), but not quite unexampled, to find with a male interment. The primary interment in the centre of this barrow was Celtic but the Teutonic immigrants 'employed its ample dimensions for their funereal purposes, while round it clustered other of their graves forming from their numbers a complete cemetery.'[3] The character of the cemetery closely resembled that of the better known one on the neighbouring Chessell Down which Mr. George Hillier's descriptions have made so familiar, but the orientation was very irregular.

The finds on CHESSELL DOWN are recorded by the writer just named in the first part of his *History and Antiquities of the Isle of Wight*, issued to subscribers in 1855–. A series of plates illustrates the principal objects, and some further information and illustrations are given in C. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. VI. An etching by Mr. Hillier reproduced in the last named work, p. 150, shows a female burial of exceptional richness. Mr. Hillier in 1855 found and reported on about 100 skeletons, but he records some earlier explorations of 1815-18 on Chessell and neighbouring Downs. Seven skeletons were found on Arreton Down in 1815, mostly as

[1] *Ass.*, XVI, 254 f. [2] ibid., XI, 187, fig. 4. [3] ibid., XVI, 260.

intrusive burials in earlier tumuli in which there was evidence of cremation.[1] The next year some barrows were opened on Shalcombe and Chessell Downs and produced about 30 skeletons, with which were found several objects resembling those found in Jutish graves in Kent, as for example a pair of disc fibulae with garnets arranged triangular fashion. The most striking resemblance is that between a pair of round headed fibulae of curious form at Bifrons House and one found at Chessell in 1816 and figured by Mr. Hillier on his p. 25, see Fig. 21 on (p. 620). The King's Field, Faversham, had produced others of the same kind, figured in *Collectanea Antiqua*, VI, pl. 26, 4. In 1818 some more Chessell graves were opened but no further discoveries are reported till 1855 when Mr. Hillier's own researches began. It was his impression that the cemetery had been in use during a lengthened period, and that the earliest graves were at the base of the down, the later ones lying on the higher levels. The lower graves had no tomb furniture, and among them there were three instances of cremation. The upper ones had characteristic Anglo-Saxon objects, and it seems probable that the lower ones were really pre-Teutonic. This would account for the instances of cremation, which otherwise would be quite exceptional in the Jutish area.

The bodies were placed two to three feet apart and were sunk to depths between three and six feet. The orientation was generally north-east to south-west but six skeletons lay due east and west. 'That there had been originally mounds, or some other mark of recognition over the graves' Hillier had no doubt, but none were then visible. The bones were as a rule well preserved and in one case there seemed to be a family burial, for a warrior armed with sword, spear and shield and with a bow and arrows had next him the body of a child, while beyond this lay a female skeleton. The man was on his left side and the woman on her right so that they

[1] Hillier, l.c., p. 25.

faced each other (p. 190). There was evidence in some parts that graves had been used over again, the original burials having been disturbed. Few special indications of date were to be found in the tomb furniture, except a radiating fibula noticed below. A large ring fibula without its pin, called by Hillier a buckle, is furnished with the knobs which, suggesting Celtic tradition, we have taken to be as a rule an early indication.

Arms were fairly numerous and presented several points of interest. Hillier figures five spathas of which four have the most primitive form of hilt while the fifth had a cocked hat pommel, double plates above and below the grip, and some ornament at the top of the scabbard, all of silver. Knives, of which two were nearly a foot in length and might be called scramasaxes, were found with a large proportion of the interments. There were 24 spears, and as seemed to be the case in the Gilton and other Kentish cemeteries (p. 242) they were of two kinds, the long war spear 6 ft. or 7 ft. from point to ferrule, and a shorter lighter implement about 4 ft. long. Twelve umbos were found, of the same types as in Kent, and the shields, about 18 in. in diameter, were usually placed over the knees, but in one case the head and in another the feet were covered by the buckler. One axe head of the francisca form was preserved, and another was said to have been found by a workman in a marl pit and to have been hafted by him and actually used as a tool. This was also done in a similar case in Belgium where a Frankish axe head was found and put to modern use. With its new handle it is preserved in the Museum at Brussels. The enigmatical object of iron like a sword blade with a tang at both ends occurred here in the same form as in Kent, Pl. XCIX, 1, 2 (p. 419). The most interesting find in the way of arms was that of arrow heads, 24 of which were recovered, both barbed and bolt shaped. In the same grave we are told that 'the presence of the bow, about five feet in length, could be distinctly traced

by the dark line of decomposed wood which remained in the chalk.' Some supposed arrow heads, it will be remembered, were found in Kent, as at Chatham, and at Buttsole by Eastry Pl. XXXII, 1 (p. 237).

Under the head of objects of personal adornment the first place is taken by the fibulae. Earlier finds of garnet-set disc brooches and long fibulae occurring also in Kent have been noticed above (p. 747), and Mr. Hillier himself procured 36 fibulae from Chessell Down, 20 of which were of silver, the rest of gilded bronze. The types represented are as follows :— (1) button shaped saucer fibulae with heads, (2) larger saucer fibulae, (3) disc fibulae with keystone or triangular garnets, (4) radiating, with 5 knobs (a broken specimen was taken from a grave that seemed to be earlier in date than most of the tombs), (5) small and large square headed fibulae very like some found in Kent but also similar to South Saxon finds, (6) bird fibulae, which occur in Sussex, but are also represented in Kent, (7) an equal armed fibula with two semi-circular ends with projecting knobs (Hillier's no. 31) resembling continental forms but with no fellow among British finds. It may be noticed that the garnet-set disc fibulae so characteristic of Kent, though represented in the Isle of Wight, only occurred in one example here and in a pair at Shalcombe.

Where fibulae were found here there was always more than one, and in the case of the interment referred to above[1] there were no fewer than five. In regard to the position of the fibulae as worn (p. 382) it may be well to quote the following from Mr. Hillier's volume, especially as the book is a rare one, not existing in the British Museum Library. 'The position which the fibulae retained on the skeletons, seemed to point to the conclusion that the part of the Anglo-Saxon attire to which they had been attached was either a long dress, open partly down the front, or a tunic, which, being confined round the waist by a belt of leather or some other

[1] *Coll. Ant.*, VI, 150.

substance, was closed at the breast and neck by the fibulae. When two were found they were invariably removed from those positions, and when three were exhumed, it was clear that a similar arrangement had prevailed, with less space between them. This description, however, only refers to the smaller kind of fibulae taken from skeletons supposed to be those of ladies; for the two larger (Nos. 27 and 41), which were apparently on the remains of males, were probably employed in fastening a mantle.'[1]

Thirty-three belt buckles were found in the hundred graves, varying from the plain ring with hinged pin and no buckle plate to those furnished with these, though not with the handsomely ornamented triangular plates met with in Kent. There were some strap ends and shoe shaped studs exactly of the Kentish form. Seven finger rings were found, one of gold, one of bronze and five of silver. Beads were abundant, two graves having produced 100 each. A large proportion, as in Kent, were of amber, and there were many examples of the early blown glass beads with one millefiori bead.

Under the heading vessels may be mentioned a bronze mounted bucket, a bronze pail, Pll. cxix, 6; ix, 2 (pp. 475, 103), and a bronze bowl intended for suspension, while the grave shown *Coll. Ant.*, vi, 150 seemed to have two silver mounted wooden vessels, one by each foot. Mr. Hillier found no glass, but vessels in this material had resulted from the earlier explorations. An annular object in bronze, no. 49, appears connected with horse trappings, and may be compared with Pl. c, 4.

Lastly, the striking discovery was made of two mounted crystal balls, one of which was accompanied by a silver spoon the gilded bowl of which was perforated with the usual holes. These are exactly of the same kind as similar objects found in Kent.

[1] Hillier, p. 32. The writer is indebted to the Council of the Society of Antiquaries for kindly granting him the use of their copy of the volume.

As regards date the majority of the objects suggest the first half of VI, though later objects were found. The absence of the more ornate inlaid disc fibulae so common in Kent and belonging to VII is significant in view of the historical accounts we have relating to the island. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* states that in 530 A.D. it was overrun by the West Saxons, and later on it seems to have passed under the power of Mercia, for in 681, according to what Bede tells us, the Mercian king Wulfhere dealt with it as if it were his own, handing it over to the king of the South Saxons. We can gather at any rate that the Jutish culture of the island, flourishing at the end of V and in the early part of VI, would have lost any power of development before VI was over, and would not reflect the later artistic phenomena of Kent.

CHAPTER XV

THE ANGLIAN KINGDOMS

It is unfortunate that Bede, an Angle by race, has transmitted to us so little information about the coming and first settlements of his northern countrymen on British soil. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles have preserved for posterity picturesque though somewhat dubious indications of the early days of Teutonic conquest, but these entries refer to the southern parts of the island to which the compilers of the annals themselves belonged. Similar traditions probably existed among the conquerors of northern Britain and Bede might well have recorded them. About the origin of the Anglian race, he informs us in the often quoted passage, ch. 15 of his bk. i, that they came from the country called 'Angulus,' which is without doubt the district still called Angeln in Schleswig, though he gives us no glimpses of their history in their continental seats, such as we obtain from *Beowulf* and from *Widsith*. He tells us that they were divided into East Angles, Midland Angles, Mercians, 'all the progeny of the Northumbrians, that is of those races that dwell to the north of the river Humber,' and 'the other Anglian peoples,' under which last phrase we should include the 'Lindiswaras' who settled in the modern Lincolnshire between the Humber and the Wash. He gives us no information however about the ethnic affinities of these different sections of the Anglian race. The migration from 'Angulus' was en masse, and Bede's statement about the deserted condition up to his own time of the ancestral territory is quite borne out by the archaeological evidence which Schleswig provides (p. 567).

That the various sections of the Angles of whom Bede

writes did not form a close ethnic unity is indicated by the fact that the traditional genealogies of their kings given at the end of the *Historia Britonum* of Nennius[1] are all different. Several tribal names have also been preserved, some of which, like that of the Lindiswaras or the 'Pecsaetas' the dwellers in the Peak of Derbyshire, were derived from their places of settlement, while others such as those of the 'Gyrwas' about North Northamptonshire and the 'Spaldingas' may be ancestral appellations that betoken ethnic distinctions. On the other hand Bede has no hesitation in applying the name 'Angli' to all alike and affords us no ground for supposing the sectional differences to be deep seated.

The relations of the various branches of the Angles are of interest from the point of view of archaeology, for it might be possible to detect corresponding differences in the cemeteries of the various districts, so that Mercian tomb furniture, for example, might differ from that of the East Angles, or the taste in personal ornaments of the Lindiswaras from that of the ladies of Bernicia. The reticence of Bede is especially to be deplored when we come to the question of the dates and the course of the Anglian raids and ultimate settlement. About these there is nothing in the *Ecclesiastical History* except the notice in the Chronological summary[2] that in the year 547 'Ida began to reign from whom the regal stock of the Northumbrians draws its origin,' a statement copied in the *A.-S. Chronicle* with the addition that he 'built Bebbanburh which was at first enclosed by a hedge, and afterwards by a wall.' A good deal of Anglian history may have preceded this establishment of Ida the first Northumbrian king upon the rock of Bamborough, but of this from the side of the conquerors we have no primary information, though William of Malmesbury, a secondary authority, tells his readers[3] that there had been

[1] *Nennii Historia Britonum*, recensuit Josephus Stevenson, Eng. Hist. Soc., Lond., 1838, §§ 57 f. All references to Nennius are to this edition.

[2] Lib. v, c. 24.

[3] *Gesta Regum*, 1, 3.

Northumbrian chieftains without the title of king for ninety-nine years previously. On the other hand from the British side there have come down to us numerous notices of long continued and strenuous contests between native Briton and immigrant Teuton of which northern Britain was the scene. Exactly how much historical worth these notices possess it is impossible to say, but at the present time the tendency is decidedly against that wholesale rejection of evidence of the kind that was in fashion a generation or so ago. Geoffrey of Monmouth is no doubt a romancer, but are we prepared in our present way of thinking to reject entirely the statement with which he opens and closes his British History, to the effect that a historical person of his time, Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, had given him 'a very ancient book, written in the British tongue,' the contents of which Geoffrey had incorporated in his own work? This shadowy volume has been much discussed and as a rule discredited, but a recent writer of high authority[1] is disposed to believe in it. It was not necessarily, he shows, an importation from Brittany, and he thinks the document may have originated in Mercia or Loegria in IX or X. If Geoffrey of Monmouth were really in possession of documents of British origin which embodied some genuine traditions of the age of Teutonic inroads his *British History* may be used to corroborate and extend the slighter notices in the *Historia Britonum* just mentioned.

In connection with the first appearances of the Teutons, 'Nennius'[2] and Geoffrey of Monmouth[3] both make Hengist and Vortigern arrange to hand over the regions in northern Britain near the Roman wall to the former's two kinsmen, who are represented as sailing round the country of the Picts and taking possession of extensive territories in connection with which is mentioned the 'Frisian Sea.' This appears to

[1] Ernst Windisch, *Das Keltische Brittanien bis zu Kaiser Arthur*, Leip., 1912.

[2] Nennius, *Hist. Brit.*, § 38.

[3] *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, VI, XIII.

be the Firth of Forth, for Joceline of Furness in his Life of Kentigern, c. VIII (see vol. I, p. 162) refers to a place near Culross on the Forth as 'Fresicum litus,' and this has been held as evidence of early Frisian settlements in this region. Here in the North according to Geoffrey the invaders are attacked by Ambrosius Aurelianus, who is exhibited by the contemporary Gildas as organizing a British reaction against the foemen when their first inrush had spent its force; the result of the attack was that one body of the Teutons retires upon York the other to the fortress of Alclyde (Dumbarton) while their possession of the north is afterwards confirmed to them by treaty with the Britons.[1] A difficulty at once arises here. Alclyde was in Bede's time the stronghold of the Britons of Strathclyde and it is surprising to find it mentioned as a refuge for the enemies of the British. Bede however tells us that of old time the Firth of Clyde separated the Britons from the Picts. Now Alclyde is on the north or Pictish side of the Firth, and was presumably once in Pictish hands, while the later name Dumbarton, fort of the British, would be a very likely appellation for a stronghold seized and held by the Britons in what was once their enemy's country. If Alclyde were at this time Pictish, Geoffrey's statement is explained. As for York, it had probably passed early into the power of the invaders with the principality of Deira (p. 755), though Geoffrey's account of the expulsion of the British clergy from the city and the ruin of the churches is a piece of literary embroidery.[2]

Later on, reinforced by a great Germanic fleet from across the North Sea, the Teutons 'invaded the parts of Albania,' that is northern Britain, 'where they destroyed both cities and inhabitants with fire and sword.' The Britons contend against them with 'varying success, being often repulsed by them and forced to retreat to the cities,' while more often they routed their Teutonic assailants 'and compelled them to flee

[1] *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, VIII, iii-viii. [2] ibid., IX, viii.

sometimes into the woods, sometimes to their ships.'[1] Both 'Nennius' and Geoffrey now bring upon the scene King Arthur, behind whom we must no doubt discern a historical personage. The first named enumerates twelve successful battles which he fought against the invaders in different localities no one of which can be surely identified,[2] but 'the more the Saxons were vanquished the more they sought for new supplies from Germany and perpetually grew in strength'; this continued until the reign of Ida, who was the first king in Bernicia,[3] and of whom we have the notice already quoted from Bede and the *A.-S. Chronicle*. Geoffrey[4] says that at the time of Arthur's appearance the invaders had entirely subdued all that part of the island that extends from the Humber towards the north. The victorious career of Arthur in Geoffrey's narrative is of course a romance, but after the departure of the meteoric hero the barbarian invaders are represented as again desolating the country with fire and sword,[5] till the Britons, weakened by civil dissensions, finally retire into the western parts of the island.[6] This last statement, like the one from Nennius about the reign of Ida, corresponds with what we learn from other sources, and brings us also to just the same period, the middle of VI. Writing at this very time, about 545, Gildas gives us just the same idea of the condition of Britain as we derive from this last statement by Geoffrey, an idea, to quote the words of Professor Oman,[7] 'of a Celtic Britain which does not extend anywhere towards the east coast, and indeed would seem to stop short at the eastern watershed of the Severn valley.'

[1] *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, VIII, XXI. Gildas, a quasi-contemporary authority, says of the same period 'nunc cives, nunc hostes, vincebant.' *De Excid. Brit.*, § 26.

[2] For the connection of the Arthurian legend with northern Britain see Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1886, I, 152. He identifies many of the localities of the battles with Scottish sites.

[3] Nennius, *Hist. Brit.*, § 56.

[4] *Hist. Reg. Brit.*, IX, i.

[5] ibid., XI, viii.

[6] ibid., XI, X.

[7] *England before the Norman Conquest*, p. 230.

Accordingly the British sources of information we have been using have at any rate brought the history of the Teutonic conquest of northern Britain down to a point at which we have confirmatory evidence from other quarters of the actual state of affairs.

In the earlier period during which these British sources are all that we can draw upon what they tell us corresponds with the probable course of events. The genealogies at the end of Nennius give names of kings of Northumbria long before Ida of Bernicia and his contemporary Yffi of Deira, and a predecessor of the latter in the fourth generation is credited in the Deirian genealogy with having 'separated Deira from Bernicia,' that meaning in all probability the establishment of an Anglian principality in Yorkshire with its capital at York, while the more northerly Bernicia remained British. The two names are Anglian adaptations of the Celtic appellations Deifr and Byrneich.[1] This event may be calculated according to generations as occurring at the very beginning of the Anglo-Saxon settlements, and may be brought into connection with the notice about the northern expedition of the kinsmen of Hengist and the traces of Frisian settlers on the Firth of Forth, though of course there is the obvious difficulty that whereas Hengist, as the leader of the conquerors of Kent, should be a Jute, the raiders of northern Britain were presumably Angles. Successive invasions from the sea, no doubt up the valleys of the principal rivers, marked the course of the conquest and of one of these we have authentic record in the account of the 'Hallelujah' campaign in the Life of Germanus of Auxerre (p. 578). The varying fortunes of the struggle as indicated in the British sources are in accordance with likelihood, and there is a touch of actuality in the notices that when the British were defeated they fled to the cities while the worsted Saxons betook themselves to the woods *or to their ships*.

[1] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I, 156 note.

From about the middle third of V onwards we may accordingly represent to ourselves different bodies of the Angles entering the estuaries of the eastern coast of northern and midland Britain and forcing their way inland up the streams. The Forth, the Tyne, the Tees, the Humber and its feeders, the Wash with the rivers that form it, all invited the entry of the war galleys, and also offered those facilities for riparian settlements of which the invaders so largely availed themselves in the Thames Valley.

The foregoing paragraph embodies a reasonable hypothesis based on literary records and historical likelihood, and this has now to be tested by the archaeological facts which have come to light in the regions indicated, or by the negative evidence of the absence of archaeological phenomena where these would be expected. Where material discoveries have actually been made these have to be confronted with the historical records, but the absence of antiquarian material is sometimes as significant historically as its existence, and should be followed by the same sort of comparative inquiry.

Now with regard to the northern portion of the old Northumbrian kingdom from the Tyne valley to the Forth, we have to deal with the somewhat surprising phenomenon that the particular class of Anglian antiquities with which we are at present occupied is not there represented. The region in question is of the highest importance for the antiquities of the Christian period from the latter part of VII onwards, and these antiquities so far as they are architectural have been already fully discussed in the second Volume of this work, while the decorative arts as represented by the sculptured stones, the illuminated manuscripts, and other ecclesiastical objects of the same period, will receive due attention in a Volume which will closely follow the present. On the other hand antiquities of the pagan period with which we are now concerned have not come to light in the regions just indicated, and this is a fact worthy of all attention. Few parts of the

United Kingdom have been better worked archaeologically than the Scottish Lowlands, but though there are numerous carved stones of the 'Anglian' character about which much could easily be said, there is no existing fragment of Saxon architecture to serve as a monumental comment on the accounts of ecclesiastical activity over the region, which Bede has transmitted to us. Though the evidence already summarized seems to show that Angles were busy in the region, apparently from an early period, and though they have left living traces of their presence in ethnographical traits,[1] and in unmistakable place names of Teutonic origin such as Abington or Haddington, yet in no one of the numberless ancient graves opened in the Lothians, in Clydesdale, or on the Borders, has a fragment of an 'Anglian' urn[2] or skull of Anglo-Saxon type, or a single weapon or object of personal adornment of Saxon character come to light. Till the other day it might have been said that hardly any piece of characteristic Anglo-Saxon metal work of a decorative kind from any period had been found north of the Tweed and Solway, but quite lately, in 1912, a remarkable discovery was made at Talnotrie near Newton Stewart in Galloway, where at the bottom of a peat deposit various artistic objects in silver and bronze came to light consisting in a beautiful silver nielloed strap end, an elaborately adorned globular head to a hair pin, a pair of silver disc-headed dress pins, a leaden weight with a brass top adorned with interlacing work, and other objects of minor interest. The deposit was not sepulchral, and the special value attached to it that it could be dated with great certainty by means of a number of Anglo-Saxon and other coins of about the middle of IX. This date of course removes the objects out of the field covered by the present Volume and a further notice with illustrations of the find must be reserved for a subsequent occasion. So far,

[1] Beddoe, *The Races of Britain*, Lond., 1885, p. 248 f.

[2] An urn of Anglian type said to have been found in the north of Scotland is noticed later on (p. 812), and figured Pl. CLVIII, 11 (p. 807).

as has been said, it is the only important discovery of objects of this character that has been made in the Scottish area.[1]

What is here said of Northumbria north of the Tweed applies to almost the same extent to the rest of the ancient Bernicia south of that comparatively modern boundary. In English Bernicia cemeteries of the pagan period can hardly be said to exist. None are known in Northumberland and practically only one in Durham, where at Darlington in 1876 some dozen skeletons equipped with tomb furniture were brought to light. The very interesting Durham cemetery at Hartlepool was distinctively Christian, and the monuments there discovered will be discussed in another connection.

It will be seen at once that this negative evidence from the side of archaeology almost wholly destroys the impression derived from literary sources of an early Anglian *settlement* of the regions in question. It would suggest that the Anglian attacks were rather in the nature of raids, and the retirement to the ships may have been the rule even after a victory over the opposing Britons as well as after a defeat. The real settlement of the country, evidenced by national characteristics, by language, by place names, by racial features, may have belonged to a later period when the influence of Christianity had led to a discontinuance of burial in pagan cemeteries and with tomb furniture. The fierce wars waged according to Nennius,[2] by the Britons against the sons of Ida, wars about which Celtic bards seem to have hymned heroic lays, and in the course of which the Northumbrian forces were beleaguered for a time in the Island of Lindisfarne, may have been connected with Anglian pressure northwards, and full mastery of the northern region may only have been obtained after the victory of Ida's grandson Æthelfrith at Degsastane,[3] since which time, Bede tells us,[4] no one of the kings of the Scots

[1] See however for a very recent find (p. 812 f.). [2] §§ 62-3.

[3] Identified by Dr. Skene with Dawston at the head of Liddesdale.

[4] *Hist. Eccl.*, i, 24.

had ventured to come out to battle against the Anglian race. If this be the truth, then the absence of Anglian cemeteries of the pagan period in the parts of Northumbria north of the Tyne may be explained in the same way as the dearth of similar memorials in the western and south-western parts of the Hwiccian province and of Wessex—regions which were not permanently settled by the Teutons till the pagan period of the country cemetery and of tomb furniture was past.

When we pass from Bernicia into Deira we find that in Yorkshire the discoveries have been far more numerous, but they still increase in copiousness and interest as we proceed further to the south. Deira is bounded on the south by the estuary of the Humber which gives access to the Trent, whose sinuous course offers a navigable waterway into the very heart of the Midlands, while on the other side the Ouse opens up Yorkshire to such an extent that almost the whole of the county is comprised within its basin. The name 'Northumbrians' embracing the inhabitants of Deira and Bernicia coupled with that of 'Southumbrians' used in the *A.-S. Chronicles*, ad ann. 697, 702, as equivalent to Mercians, seems to imply that the estuary of the Humber was one main gate of entrance from which the invading Angles made their way to the north and south up the streams of the Ouse and the Trent. That the latter was the line of advance of that section of the Angles who became the Mercians of history seems unquestionable, and riparian cemeteries, both on the Trent and its important tributary the Soar, mark some of their early settlements. We have already seen (p. 617 f.) that at the watershed between the river systems of the Trent and Soar and of the Avon the Mercians would come into contact with the West Saxons who had advanced northward as far as this from their earliest seats in the Thames Valley. We need not stay to argue the question which of the two peoples made the earlier appearance in the Midlands. If West Saxon history in the strict sense begin only with Ceawlin, 560-591, that of Mercia cannot be followed

further back than the reign of the famous Penda, 626-655. There is some evidence however, explained by Professor Chadwick in the first chapter of his *Origin of the English Nation*, which would go to prove that ancestors of Penda had held the Mercian kingship at least as far back as the middle of V. The Mercians were therefore probably in the Midlands from an early date though the great extension of their power did not come till much later. A striking proof that the Mercian settlers followed the Trent is the fact that in Bede's time they were divided by that river into two sections the northern and the southern Mercians, implying that they occupied in about equal force the two sides of the valley. As it is only from about Nottingham westwards that the course of the stream runs approximately west and east, so it is only in this western part of its course that it could be said to divide north from south, and it is here, in southern Derbyshire and western Staffordshire with parts of Leicestershire and Warwick, that we must seek for the original centre of the Mercian power. It is significant that Lichfield, about the middle of this district, was the first fixed seat of the Mercian bishopric, and Tamworth close by was the royal residence.

The Midland Angles, who do not seem to have had a royal line of their own, are always distinguished by Bede from the Mercians. The name Mercians, 'mark-men,' implies that they were looked upon as the westernmost branch of the English, impinging on the still British territory, the Mid-Angles coming between them and the East Angles. The former were ultimately merged in Mercia when as described in the historical notes prefixed to the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester that kingdom embraced all England between the Thames and the Humber as far east as Essex and East Anglia, but at the time we are dealing with these Midland Angles may be regarded as that section of the invaders who used the rivers debouching on the Wash as their paths of entry into the land. These rivers, the Welland, the Nene, the

Ouse, would give access to the pastoral shires of Rutland, with part of Leicestershire, Northants, Cambridge, Bedford, and Huntingdon, in which shires are found some of the best equipped cemeteries of the whole Anglian area.

The Lindiswaras never played an independent part and have practically no history. The material apparatus of their daily life, or perhaps of that of the Gyrwas, may be represented in the interesting cemetery at Sleaford, but Lincolnshire cemeteries of the pagan period are disappointingly few. There seems some reason to apportion the low lying lands of Kesteven and Holland in the south of Lincolnshire in the basin of the Witham, with parts of the counties bordering this region on the south, to the people called Gyrwas. Bede gives us the interesting bit of information that Medeshamstead, the modern Peterborough, was in the country of the Gyrwas.[1]

East Anglia on the other hand holds a very distinctive position and must be treated apart from the other branches of the Anglian stock.

The East Anglian kingdom embraced the two counties Norfolk and Suffolk and a portion of Cambridgeshire including the Isle of Ely.[2] On the west the province was effectively bounded by the fen country and there is evidence that in the British period also the region was somewhat isolated.[3] It seems possible too that at a later period in East Anglian history, when aggression from the side of Mercia was threatened, an artificial barrier was added to that provided by nature, for the great earthwork across Newmarket Heath known as the Devil's Dyke[4] has all the appearance of having been reared to protect a population to the east of it against an attack from the west. To the south the Stour seems to have always divided East Anglia from Essex, as is the case at the

[1] *Hist Eccl.*, iv, 6.

[2] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, iv, 19.

[3] *Victoria History*, Suffolk, I, 274.

[4] An excellent view of this is obtained from the railway between Cambridge and Newmarket.

present day, and this fact is not a little remarkable. As a rule, as we have seen, rivers did not form the original boundaries between the various sections of the conquerors, but rather the open tracks by which they entered the land and from which they spread to left and right upon either bank. The original Wessex was a Thames-Valley state occupying both sides of the river. It was not till a later period that Mercia pressed her rival to the south and constituted the Thames as a frontier between Angle and Saxon.[1] The original settlers on the east coast might well have entered the Stour and spread themselves on both sides of the stream. What really happened in all probability was that the East Saxons were the first in the field, taking the unoccupied side of the Thames estuary for their domain so as not to interfere with the conquerors of Kent on the south. Extending their settlements towards the north from the Thames or the Blackwater, they may only have reached the latitude of the Stour at about the time when the Angles appeared in force in their future domain. William of Malmesbury tells us that the two kingdoms were about co-eval,[2] and the Stour, an inconsiderable stream, may have presented itself to both peoples as a convenient boundary. Slight as it was as a natural barrier, it seems so far as we know to have been always observed, and it certainly served as a delimitation of two spheres of culture, for as we have seen the practice of cremation, which we shall find in full force in Suffolk, has never been observed in Saxon cemeteries in Essex (p. 597 f.).

The dates of the coming of the East Angles and of the establishment of their kingdom are of course uncertain, but Procopius[3] narrates events of about the year 540 which, if at all truly recorded, would show that the state must have been

[1] Wessex in Florence of Worcester, and in Roger of Wendover, ad ann. 586, embraces Surrey, Berks, Hants, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset and Devon—all south of the Thames.

[2] *Gesta Regum*, I, 6.

[3] *De Bello Gothico*, IV, 20.

founded a long time before. An Anglian princess of that part of Britain opposite the mouths of the Rhine, obviously East Anglia, was very shabbily treated in respect of a matrimonial engagement by the son of the king of the Warni (Varini) who lived by the lower Rhine in what is now Holland. Thrown over by this prince in favour of the sister of the powerful Theodebert, King of the Franks (534-548), the lady equipped a fleet of 400 ships and manning them with 100,000 warriors sailed over the sea, defeated the forces of her faithless fiancé, and made herself master of his person. Her only revenge was to make him give up the Frankish alliance and perform to her his vows. The Angles are represented in the story as a powerful and warlike people and though the details may be absurd there is no doubt some historical foundation for the romance, which is connected with the name of the best known Teutonic prince of the time. So far it would seem that up to the middle of VI the immigrants in Britain had kept up their seamanship, which in VII and VIII Professor Chadwick thinks they had greatly lost.[1] An argument for the comparatively early settlement of the East Anglian area may be found in the fact that on the whole cremation was more in vogue here than in any other part of the country. It may be regarded as in East Anglia the prevailing rite, and according to the general theory which has been previously discussed (p. 494 f.) this is an early indication.

A few sentences may now be devoted to an archaeological survey of the region as a preliminary to a synopsis of the cemeteries and their contents.

The riparian theory of the settlements, as it may be called, holds to a considerable extent in all the Southumbrian region. It is to be noticed however that all the main streams above mentioned run in the lower portions of their course through

[1] *Origin of the English Nation*, p. 19.

flat and marshy lands affording few attractions to settlers, so that in the valley of the Trent it is not till near Newark, in that of the Welland till Stamford, in that of the Nene till past Peterborough, that we find in cemeteries the evidence of the permanent establishments of the invaders. The Cambridgeshire cemeteries do not begin till we approach the county town, and the Great Ouse has to be followed up nearly to the latitude of Bedford before much is found. Not therefore in their lower reaches but some way up the valleys along the course of the Trent, the Soar, the Nene, the Ouse, we find early riverside cemeteries which are evidence of penetration by way of the streams to the very heart of the inland region, and of the habit of settling as near the river bank as was convenient. On the other hand there are regions where the streams are of no great importance but where fairly early Anglo-Saxon settlements make their appearance. Rutland for instance is a county of hills rather than rivers, and though North Luffenham is on a tributary of the Welland the sites at Market Overton and Cottesmore are quite inland. It may be of significance that as we shall see the first named cemetery appears distinctly earlier than the latter ones. Again, in parts of Northants, as at Marston St. Lawrence, Holdenby, Kettering, Norton by Daventry, the settlements seem like those in central Wiltshire to be more independent of the waterways. In Lincolnshire the one important cemetery at Sleaford is quite of a riparian character lying as it does on the Slea, a tributary of the Witham, but the few finds reported from the upland districts of the county seem not to be connected with river settlements, and it is curious that with two possible exceptions no cemeteries have come to light in connection with the long range of villages, many with late Saxon churches, that lie so thickly along the foothills of the 'cliff' range, the oolitic escarpment that runs almost due north and south from Grantham to the Humber. In Cambridgeshire the Cam brought the settlers to the county town and to the sites around it so

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fertile in Anglian grave furniture, and another tributary of the Ouse, the Lark, carried immigrants to the apparently well peopled region of north-west Suffolk, while the main stream of the Ouse and its upper tributaries served Bedfordshire.

To judge from the tomb furniture, the new comers soon followed the rivers up to about their navigable limits, for Kempston above Bedford on the Ouse produced some of the earliest objects in the whole country, and at Great Addington on the Nene, though not so high up as in the other case, there was found the remarkable spout-handled urn, shown Pl. cxxxix, 6 (p. 507) which might outdo even these objects in the competition for an antique birth certificate.

The general character of these Anglian cemeteries, Map vii, and of their furniture is sufficiently distinct from what we have found in the West Saxon area. We shall find cremation far more frequent, and as has been already pointed out (p. 623 f.) in the true cruciform brooches, in wrist clasps, and in the objects known as girdle hangers, we obtain very distinct criteria that mark off Angle from Saxon; while in the local distribution of the wrist clasps we may find a peculiarity that seems to mark off certain divisions of the Anglian name from the rest. It must be admitted at the same time that archaeological districts are by no means always conterminous with those indicated by historians, and whereas the East Anglians are politically distinct from the Mid Angles, the fairly well marked clasp district among the Angles generally takes in Mid Angles, East Angles, 'Gyrwas,' and the Northumbrians of Deira, but excludes apparently the Mercians. Cruciform brooches, of the specific three knobbed type, are at home in Notts and Leicestershire, in Mid Anglia, and in East Anglia and Northumbria, and in almost all parts we find examples of the early type with detached side knobs as well as the later ones with fixed knobs. In the same regions too we find examples of the freer treatment of the type resulting in the handsome ornate pieces that ultimately degenerate into the

florid but flatly treated brooches of the middle of VII. Girdle hangers are specially well represented in Lincolnshire both in the flat country and on the Wolds. Buckets, bronze bowls, etc., are widely diffused but glass vessels are not so common as in the South.

THE MERCIANS IN THE BASIN OF THE TRENT
THE MID ANGLIAN CEMETERIES

The flat and often marshy lower reaches of the Trent would not invite new comers to land, but on the Roman site of FLIXBOROUGH, a few miles up the stream, some characteristic long brooches have been found. The horse's-head foot of one in the Lincoln Museum is of an advanced type, and the settlement, if it existed, was probably not an early one. Not till we are south of the latitude of Lincoln do riparian cemeteries of an early type make their appearance. These are situated (1) at BROUGH on the Fosse Way between Newark and Lincoln, the site it is supposed of the Roman station Crocolana, (2) at NEWARK itself, (3) at COTGRAVE on the line of the Fosse Way not far from Nottingham, (4) at HOLME PIERREPONT still nearer to the county town and close to the Trent. On all these sites early objects have been found such as might have been in use among the very earliest settlers. Trefoil headed bronze brooches are not necessarily early but one found at BROUGH is of dainty form and sharply faceted in the Roman fashion, and another from HOLME PIERREPONT[1] has the same character. CASTLE HILL between Newark and Cotgrave furnished other examples. At the Holme Pierrepont sites also there was a good-sized square headed fibula that Mr. Reginald Smith located in V. The question of the probable date of examples of this particular sub-type has been already discussed (p. 335), but though all the examples need not be specially

[1] The Holme Pierrepont cemetery where discoveries were made about 1839 (*Ass.*, VIII, 190) is sometimes referred to under the name Cotgrave, a more important place some four miles away.

early the Holme Pierrepont one has as good a claim as any to be thus labelled. A bronze bowl for suspension, a fragment of Roman glass, and an enamelled brooch of Romano-British origin, agree with an early dating of the site, and so too does the early cruciform brooch with detached side knobs, figured Pl. XL, 5 (p. 259). The FOSSE WAY burials near COTGRAVE resembled some that we shall come to later on on the Watling Street near Rugby, already signalized on account of the remarkable fact that the burials were actually in the Roman roadway itself (p. 139). At COTGRAVE the same phenomenon presented itself, and four skeletons were found laid in the direction of the road, that is, approximately north and south, each with two spears. The burial in the actual roadway seems to preclude the notion that the invaders used the Roman thoroughfare for their own movements (p. 592).

At NEWARK we meet with the rite of cremation represented by about 36 urns saved from more than double that number. They were found in 1836-7 by the side of the Fosse Way in the direction of Nottingham during excavations for a house, and they were arranged in regular lines at equal distances from each other. Mr. Thomas Bateman reported in general terms that 'each contained calcined human bones.'[1] Three of these urns are in the Hull Museum, and one, a very handsome one, is figured Pll. CXXXVI, 7; CXXXVII, 2 with some of the bones found in it (p. 501). It is to be noted that one of the three Newark urns at Hull is quite plain and of the globular form represented Pl. CXXXVIII, 1, 2. It was however an Anglian cinerary urn, and contained 'the cremated human remains which had originally been buried with it,'[2] just as did the ornamented vessels from the same site. The usual small objects, tweezers, shears, comb, were found in some of the urns, and there is no reason why the cemetery should not be regarded as contemporary with the others just noticed from the same neighbourhood.

[1] *Ass.*, VIII, 189.

[2] *Hull Museum Publications*, No. 17.

Not far above Nottingham the Soar enters the Trent, and we may assume in accordance with the general theory here followed that the immigrants were borne upon its waters into the heart of Leicestershire. Only a mile or two up the stream is the site of KINGSTON-ON-SOAR where in 1844 an important discovery was made of a cremation cemetery near the river but 'on the slope and near the summit of a gentle eminence.' About 200 urns were destroyed 'before it occurred to any one that they were worthy of preservation,' but 30 were retained and of these all but one 'contained human bones thoroughly calcined.' Some fused glass beads were noticed in some of the urns, which were arranged in lines, each being covered with a stone slab.

Continuing to follow the main stream towards the west, we come upon a similar cremation cemetery to that at Kingston by the village of KING'S NEWTON near Melbourne. Here a considerable number of cinerary urns were found of the type of those at Kingston and Newark, and again about 200 were wantonly destroyed. They generally stood on flat stones and were covered with others, but in one or two cases the urn was reversed over the ashes which had been placed on a flat stone.

A little beyond Burton-on-Trent is the important cemetery at STAPENHILL. The site overlooks the river but is on comparatively high ground 120 feet above the stream. Here discoveries of much interest were made in 1881, revealing a cemetery where cremation and inhumation were both represented and where indications of an earlier use of the site for funereal purposes made themselves apparent.[1] The Plates illustrate various objects from the site, Pl. XVIII, 3 (p. 177), a burial; Pl. XXXVII (p. 247), 6, a small equal armed brooch, 8, a pair of trefoil headed brooches; Pl. LXXXIX, 2 (p. 397), a

[1] *Transactions of the Burton-on-Trent Natural History and Archaeological Society*, Lond., 1889, vol. I, p. 156 f. The finds are in the possession of the Society at Burton-on-Trent, where the writer was kindly allowed to examine and photograph them.

pair of girdle hangers; Pll. CXXXIV, 8; CXXXVIII, 2 (p. 505), urns. Cremation urns and skeletons were found beside each other, and out of 36 burials observed 5 were cremated. In one cremation urn was found part of the bed-plate of an applied fibula. The objects found were not specially early but the cemetery was no doubt a pagan one of VI, and Mr. Reginald Smith notices a resemblance between it and Kempston. Other sites in the vicinity have furnished Anglo-Saxon objects.[1] BRANSTON across the Trent opposite Stapenhill is one, WALTON on the same side as Stapenhill a little further south is another, and here cinerary urns were found. A few miles further up the river WYCHNOR furnished from a gravel pit a small collection of arms with a bronze mounted bucket and part of a trefoil headed fibula.

Wychnor is the limit of the Trent valley riverside cemeteries of the kind here described, and no regular burial grounds are known to the west of this point. An interesting single discovery at BARLASTON near the Potteries is probably of rather later date than the cemeteries.[2] It was that of a single burial in a rock-cut tomb of a warrior accompanied by his sword, in whose grave had been placed one of the bronze bowls with enamelled scutcheons already figured and described Pll. CXVII to CXX (p. 475 f.). Mr. Romilly Allen thought this bowl the earliest of its class, for it is cast and not beaten. The whole class is however a late one, and carries us into VII. The same may be said about a considerable body of objects of the period that have come to light in sepulchral tumuli, generally of an earlier age, in the northern or hilly districts of Staffordshire and Derbyshire. The opening of an immense number of barrows in these regions is described in the two works by Thomas Bateman, *Vestiges*, and *Ten Years' Diggings*, and in a certain proportion of the tumuli there was evidence of the intrusive burial of the bodies of Anglo-Saxons, while in

[1] Molyneux, *History of Burton-on-Trent.*

[2] Jewitt, *Grave Mounds and their Contents*, Lond., 1870, p. 258.

other cases the tumulus burial of the Teuton was primary. The earlier work, *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire*, published in 1845, gives a list of nine barrows in which Saxon remains had been found, and the later work, carrying the history of the investigation down to 1858, adds a number of others, so that about a score of cases of intrusive Anglo-Saxon burials and a similar number of primary interments can be reckoned up.[1] The Anglo-Saxon bodies were mostly laid at full length with the feet to the east. Thus the large barrow called STEEP LOWE near Alstonefield, beside the Dove in North Staffordshire, revealed in 1845 a secondary interment of the kind with split-socketed spear heads.[2] A barrow at BRUSHFIELD in Monsal Dale above Bakewell, opened in 1850, produced a skeleton with an iron sword of spatha form and various other objects in the same metal.[3] Swords it has been noticed are rare in Derbyshire burials only three having been recorded. In a barrow at STAND LOWE in the Middleton district in 1845 the appurtenances of an Anglo-Saxon lady were discovered consisting in a little round bronze workbox, beads, a couple of knives, etc., though the only vestiges of the actual skeleton were the enamel crowns of the teeth (p. 177).[4] A somewhat similar discovery was made in 1852 in a tumulus at WYASTON, Derbyshire, of the primary interment of a lady with a necklace of beads, shown Pl. CIV, 3 (p. 437), and various jewels and trinkets.[5] The remarkable find in the BENTY GRANGE barrow of the iron helmet has been already noticed, Pl. XXI, 1 (p. 195).

The chief point of interest about these barrow interments is the occurrence in them of objects of jewellery both of the special kind already discussed (p. 424 f.) and in more ordinary forms such as occur most frequently in Kent. The necklet from the tumulus of GALLEY LOWE on Brassington Moor

[1] *Victoria History*, Derby, I, 267.
[2] *Vestiges*, p. 76.
[3] *Diggings*, p. 68.
[4] *Vestiges*, p. 74.
[5] *Diggings*, p. 188.

near Wirksworth has been figured and discussed Pl. CII, 2 (p. 425) and this is not alone in the district. In a tumulus at Cow Lowe near Buxton in an intrusive interment were two gold pins with heads set with garnets and linked together by a chain,[1] so as to agree closely with the Roundway Down pin suite Pl. LXXXI, 2 (p. 371). There was also a necklet of pendants. In a barrow called White Lowe near Winster above Darley Dale in Derbyshire an important discovery was made about 1765, in connection with what appears to have been a primary interment. There were two large urns, two glass vessels, beads, a wonderful silver bracelet, and a golden disc fibula ornamented with inlaid garnets and filigree work.[2] Associated with the find was a cruciform pendant similarly enriched. The last two are in the Sheffield Museum and the cross is figured Pl. x, 4 (p. 115) and the disc fibula Pl. CLVI, 7. It will be seen that the somewhat loose and monotonous treatment of the filigree scrolls is evidence of an advanced date. To these jewels must be added one of the class of the Bacton and Wilton pendants from East Anglia (p. 539), though the coin which is set in the inlaid gold framing is of an earlier date than in these two cases. It was found at Forsbrook in Staffordshire south-west from the uplands where the barrow interments occur. There is little doubt that these jewels are all comparatively late, belonging to VII, and they appear to date the barrow interments as a whole, making them distinctly later than the riparian cemeteries. For one thing, the early 'long' brooches which occur round Newark and which we shall find abundant in Leicestershire do not make their appearance in the barrows, while the inlaid work in these regions is probably due to Kentish influence.

The above seems pretty well to exhaust the northern and western parts of Mercia, and we may return now to the cremation cemetery of Kingston-on-Soar which marks the entry into Leicestershire. Before however ascending the Soar

[1] *Vestiges*, p. 91. [2] ibid., p. 19.

a glance may be taken at some later finds in Notts which like the barrow finds in Derby and Stafford are evidence of the spreading of the Teutonic population over the districts from the earlier riverside centres. At OXTON near Southwell three barrows were opened about 1790 and Anglo-Saxon weapons were found. The principal barrow was 150 ft. in diameter and 7 ft. high,[1] and the primary interment was sunk into the original soil below. There was a sword, a knife, a spear, an umbo, and besides the arms a thin bronze bowl and some objects that were seemingly counters. The burial was evidently that of an important personage, and may be compared with the much richer ones at Taplow and Broomfield (pp. 638, 601). TUXFORD, between Newark and Retford, produced a fine ornate square headed brooch, 6½ in. long, of a kind of which examples are found in almost every part of the country, but of which some good authorities think Leicestershire and Northants were in a special sense the home. These belong in all probability to the latter part of VI and first half of VII.

That part of Leicestershire that lies within the Trent basin may be reasonably regarded as the original territory of the southern Mercians. At any rate cemeteries of the pagan period are abundant there and some of the earliest deposits of all, distinctively Anglian in their character, lie even over the southern line of the watershed in the Avon basin near Rugby. The reference is to the finds near CESTERSOVER, on the line of the Watling Street, already mentioned more than once (pp. 139, 624). Akerman on pl. XVIII of *Pagan Saxondom* gives an instructive selection from the brooches found apparently on the bodies of women, and many can be seen now in the Rugby School Museum. The very early character of the long brooch figured Pl. XLI, 1 has been attested (p. 262) and in the same group of finds come Pl. LI, 1, 9 (p. 284) which receive in this way their birthright. There was one cremation urn, and there were also clasps, trefoil headed

[1] Thomas Bateman in *Ass.*, VIII, 188.

brooches, as well as small long ones (p. 265). The last mentioned objects we have seen to be ubiquitous, but most of the others are distinctively Anglian and belong especially to the Midlands, whether we reckon these Mercian or Mid Anglian. As they extend towards the east through Cambridgeshire to East Anglia, and save for the trefoil brooches are not represented on the western side of the Trent basin, we may call them Mid Anglian. With the exception perhaps of MARTON (p. 344, note 1) south-west of Rugby, where cinerary urns were found, one of which contained the late saucer brooch figured Pl. LXIX, 5 (p. 343), these CESTERSOVER or BENSFORD BRIDGE finds seem to represent the southern limit for these regions of Anglian extension, and it is curious that more to the west, where Tamworth and Lichfield became the political and religious centres of the Mercian kingdom, early Anglian cemeteries are conspicuous by their absence. So long as that stern old conservative Penda flourished (626-655 A.D.), the influence of Christianity cannot have counted for much, and the institution of tomb furniture should have been in full vigour; but as a fact, while Leicestershire at any rate on its eastern side swarms with cemeteries, these hardly exist in the upper or western part of the basin of the Trent, and the same is the case in the northern parts of Warwickshire till we approach the West Saxon sites in immediate proximity to the Avon. Mercia in truth, so far as the evidence of cemeteries is concerned, is not an important archaeological province. The appearance of abnormal objects in different parts of central England is sometimes explained as the result of the extension of the political influence of Mercia in VII, but we are in the difficulty that we really do not know what were Mercian specialities in art and in the material apparatus of life, while on the other hand we cannot tell how far changes in political predominance made a difference in the archaeology of districts affected.

Starting backwards from the sites near Rugby and passing

WIBTOFT near the headwaters of the Soar, we note important discoveries at GLEN PARVA and WIGSTON MAGNA on the Soar to the south of Leicester and also some finds in LEICESTER itself, while on the Soar north of the county town the site of ROTHLEY TEMPLE is intermediate between Leicester and Kingston-on-Soar. It is when we turn in a north-westerly direction from the county town, along the lateral valleys of the Soar tributaries the Wreak and its affluents, that we find the cemeteries becoming really numerous, and MELTON MOWBRAY on the Wreak is on the northern boundary of a singularly productive region. Taking the county as a whole, there is the one early site on the Watling Street, where the objects found suggest V, but as a rule the tomb furniture seems to point to VI and to be pagan in character. Cremation is very conspicuous on one site, SAXBY to the east of Melton, and occurs in doubtful cases elsewhere in the county, but as a rule the bodies were buried unburnt, and were well supplied with the usual accompaniments.

At WIGSTON MAGNA twenty skeletons were unearthed in 1795 and a horse's skeleton with its iron bit were also found, while in 1886 the very rich burial of a lady came to light at GLEN PARVA, dating probably in the first half of VI. Stones, it was noticed, had in each case been used to cover the bodies. The Glen Parva burial goods embraced cruciform fibulae, girdle hangers, a faceted crystal, a funnel shaped glass vessel, etc. The WIGSTON MAGNA burials yielded a florid square headed fibula of late VI, as well as girdle hangers with animal head terminals. Another GLEN PARVA interment was that of a warrior with sword and spear. At LEICESTER itself several finds have been made but not of a character to support the theory that the new settlers continued the use of the Romano-British cemeteries. Cremation urns are however recorded. ROTHLEY TEMPLE produced a clasp, Pl. LXXVIII, 3, and a very characteristic square headed brooch figured Pl. LXVI, 1 (p. 337), and a very late cruciform fibula with debased ornamentation, figured

by Akerman in his *Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xx, 2; but the Leicester Museum also contains an early cruciform fibula with detached knobs from the site, so the settlement may have been formed at an early date.

The sites in the Wreak valley are too numerous to receive individual treatment. There may be named in passing eastwards QUENIBOROUGH; BILLESDON, where was found the fine square headed fibula of about the middle of VI, 6 in. long, figured Pl. LXV, 1 (p. 336); Keythorpe Hall, TUGBY, which with Queniborough is responsible for four bronze bowls; BEEBY with three cruciform brooches, two with loose knobs; TWYFORD that produced the silver clasps and spiral wire loops shown Pl. LXXVI, 3, 5 (p. 359); INGARSBY, with another florid late square headed brooch[1]; LOWESBY; STAPLEFORD PARK, where graves were originally covered with a low mound and where four urns containing cremated bones were found, whence too the Bede House Museum at Melton Mowbray has been enriched with perhaps the most debased of all the monstrous late cruciform fibulae in the country, 7½ in. long and quite flat. Near MELTON itself and at SYSONBY interments with feet to the east and a good collection of arms were found.

The cemetery at SAXBY a few miles east of Melton demands a special word. This was cut into accidentally in connection with railway works in 1890, and an interesting collection of objects from the site is housed in the Midland Institute, Derby, where through the kindness of Mr. W. B. Worthington, Engineer in Chief to the Midland railway, the writer was enabled to examine and photograph them. Here cremation and inhumation coexisted on the same site, and a good set of cinerary and other urns of characteristic Anglian types is at Derby. The inhumed bodies were turned with their feet not to the west but to the east. Cruciform fibulae were much in evidence but with fixed knobs, so that a late date in VI seems to suit the chronology of the cemetery.

[1] *Pagan Saxondom*, pl. XVI.

Most of the sites just enumerated are in a wold country, though Melton, Stapleford and Saxby are in the river valley. The same upland region includes a good part of Rutland, and here at MARKET OVERTON is another wold site about five miles east of Saxby. An important cemetery has recently been opened here, and the contents were published by Mr. V. B. Crowther-Beynon, F.S.A., in vol. LXII of *Archaeologia*. Ironstone workings begun in 1906 led to the discovery, and most of the objects found are at Tickencote Hall near Stamford, where Major Wingfield kindly gave facilities for their study. The spiral wire clasps, Pl. LXXVI, 4, seem to connect the site with Twyford in Leicestershire, while an array of large square headed and cruciform brooches, mostly of the florid type, is characteristic of this whole region. Cremation to a limited extent appears to have been indicated, and a general date of about the second half of VI was suggested by the reporter. What makes the cemetery specially notable is the number of exceptional objects which made their appearance, and a reference may be given to the remarkable silver brooch of South German type, Pl. XXXIX, 1 (p. 255); the silver neck ornament, Pl. CI, 1 (p. 423); the gold bead, Pl. CV, 2 (p. 433) and gold ring, Pl. CVIII, 4 (p. 455); and the gold bracteate, Pl. CVII, 4 (p. 453).

The other Rutland cemetery, also a notable one, is at NORTH LUFFENHAM near the south-eastern corner of the county, but it is a pure accident that the two are in the same administrative division of the country. Geographically they belong to different basins, for North Luffenham is on an affluent of the Welland while Market Overton lies between the upper waters of the Witham and those of the Eye, a tributary of the Wreak. The two cemeteries agree in the possession of applied brooches and Market Overton produced two saucer brooches, whereas Leicestershire and the other Mercian regions, save for a late saucer one at Marton near Rugby, and a possible applied one at Stapenhill, are devoid of

this form. This shows we are approaching the Mid Anglian region proper where these brooches are almost as much at home as among the West Saxons. Furthermore, NORTH LUFFENHAM presents us with wrist clasps which, hardly known if at all (save around Rugby) in the Mercian region, become very common in Mid Anglia. The NORTH LUFFENHAM site is on high ground, 350 feet above the sea level, and discoveries have been made from 1863 onwards, the objects being partly in the possession of Lord Ancaster at Normanton Park, and partly in the collection of the late Mrs. Morris formerly of the place. Mrs. Morris had a good set of urns but it seems to be uncertain whether any of them contained cremated bones,[1] and in her possession too was a strap end with crouching beasts in the romanizing style after the pattern of those shown Pl. CXLIX, 9 (p. 553). The large square headed and cruciform fibula, sometimes in its latest form, is well in evidence, but small cruciform fibulae with the three knobs also occur, and the cemetery may have been in use from an early part of VI. The number of swords, no fewer than six, and the numerous other arms, are in favour of a comparatively early date.

With the exception of North Luffenham the basin of the Welland is not well furnished with Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, but these are much more abundant along the course of the Nene and accompany the river almost to its source. At STAMFORD on the Welland however was found one of those very curious objects, an urn with a small piece of glass let into it, Pl. CXXX, 2 (p. 500). Similar vessels were found at Kempston, Beds,[2] and at Girton by Cambridge, and serve to link together these Anglian sites and connect them with northern Germany where other examples are in evidence (p. 500). It should be noted that the Kempston example was found by the side of a skeleton, so that such urns were not necessarily used for incinerated remains.

[1] Two of these urns are figured Pl. CXXXV (p. 500).

[2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1864, pt. 1, p. 224.

Not actually on the Nene system, and indeed a wold site rather than one obviously connected with a river, is MARSTON ST. LAWRENCE near the borders of Oxfordshire and quite in the south-western corner of Northamptonshire. It is noticed however here as an example of an Anglian cemetery, or at any rate one founded by immigrants ascending the rivers from the Wash, that is pushed on to the high ground even up to the watershed and comes almost into touch with the West Saxon cemeteries of the valley of the Cherwell. The site was reported on in two papers by Sir Henry Dryden read in 1850 and 1882,[1] and to the first paper Charles Roach Smith contributed an introduction in which he notes the contrast between the finds here and those from Kent. The skeletons unearthed numbered 32 and were laid generally with the feet towards the north-east, at a depth of 1 ft. 3 in. to 1 ft. 6 in., while at a depth of 3 or 4 ft. there appeared the skeleton of a horse. Small hillocks seem to have been raised over the graves as in a modern churchyard. There were also at least four instances of cremation, and one 'urn with Van Dyke pattern on it . . . had a comb at the bottom of it and was full of burnt bones.' Seven of the bodies were buried with arms but no sword was found, and among the fibulae, of which there were ten pairs with one odd one, were three saucer brooches, trefoil headed and ring brooches, and one florid square headed one. The occurrence of a pair of bronze clasps is to be noted as connecting the cemetery with the region to the north and east. As would seem natural considering the position of the cemetery it was not an early one, and may date from the last part of VI.

Similar orientation of bodies was observed in a cemetery of 20 interments at NEWNHAM near Daventry by the upper waters of the Nene. There were here also saucer brooches and ornate square headed ones, and in both cemeteries small triple beads were found, a fact which seems to show that

[1] *Archaeologia*, XXXIII, 326; XLVIII, 327.

these are not always early indications. At BADBY close to Newnham, and at NORTON on the other side of Daventry, large ornate square headed fibulae were again a feature and Northants shares with Leicestershire the reputation of being particularly prolific in this specially English form of ornament. The Norton burials were in a long mound bordering the line of the Watling Street. At Badby in connection with quarrying operations many skeletons were found from time to time, disposed north and south, with Anglo-Saxon tomb furniture.[1]

These sites are all at the western limit of the district, the last named group lying near the watershed between the basins of the Nene-Welland and the Warwickshire Avon. In the valley of the Nene itself the remarkable discovery was made of the spout-handled urn, Pl. CXXXIX, 6 (p. 507), at GREAT ADDINGTON near Thrapston. This had burnt bones within it. The Nene valley cemeteries almost all exhibited traces of cremation, generally, as at BRIXWORTH and HOLDENBY, combined with inhumation, but sometimes, as at PITSFORD, the former was the exclusive site. HOLDENBY, like the two other places just mentioned a few miles north of the county town, is a typical cemetery of the district and has been opened more than once and described in the *Journal of the Northamptonshire Natural History Society*, vol. XI, 1901, and also, by Mr. Thurlow Leeds, in vol. XV, 1909. The site is a comparatively elevated ridge above some low lying lands, and here 18 skeletons were found in 1864 and 1899 and 11 in 1908, while at least one cinerary urn with burnt bones is recorded. There was one very handsome florid late square headed brooch of the first half of VII, some late saucer and applied brooches, and a large number of long brooches of various patterns among which the trefoil headed one was prominent. There was also an interesting ornate girdle hanger and a considerable number of wrist clasps. Two penannular brooches of

[1] *Ass.*, I, 60.

iron are rarities. Beads were greatly in evidence but there was not much in the way of arms.

At NORTHAMPTON itself Anglo-Saxon discoveries have been made, especially on the site of St. Andrew's Hospital, Pl. LXVI, 2 (p. 337), and DUSTON, a little to the west of the town, famous for pre-Roman and Roman finds, has furnished recently some interesting saucer brooches, Pl. LIX, 3 (p. 317) and other objects, Pl. LXVI, 3.

KETTERING is the centre of a group of cemeteries, of which ISLIP on the Nene, WOODFORD, BARTON SEAGRAVE, CRANSLEY, CRANFORD and DESBOROUGH may be mentioned, with LODDINGTON, where was found quite recently one of the conical shield bosses similar to Pl. XXIII, 1 (p. 199). The KETTERING cemetery exposed in 1903 was almost entirely a cremation one, for 80 or 90 urns were found with only six skeletons. The usual small objects, tweezers, combs, melted glass beads, etc., were found with burnt bones in the urns.[1] For the remarkable find at DESBOROUGH see Pl. CII, 5 (p. 425). Here were at least 60 skeletons with feet to the east, and some evidence of cremation.

On the lower course of the Nene, in two contiguous burying grounds about half a mile apart, WOODSTONE in Huntingdonshire nearly opposite Peterborough yielded up considerable archaeological material, including more than forty fibulae, that was reported on by Dr. T. J. Walker of Peterborough at the Congress held there of the British Archaeological Association in 1898.[2] Some of the objects were long ago published by Artis on pl. LV of his *Durobrivae*, and the Peterborough Museum possesses a good collection including a magnificent spear head 25 in. long, several pairs of clasps, and a good assortment of long brooches, both of the normal cruciform type with the three knobs, one example of which has the side knobs detached, and of the more fanciful patterns like those from Kempston, Beds, Pl. XLII, 1 (p. 265). One of these

[1] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XIX, 307.

[2] *Ass.*, 1899, n.s., V, 343 f.

last ends below with an unmistakable horse's head. There was also one large florid cruciform brooch of a late style, singularly like an example found at Holdenby. Saucer brooches also occurred on the site, and Dr. Walker figures two radiating brooches of the V type (p. 256). He mentions too that the bones of a horse were found in the same grave as those of a man with possibly a fragment of a spur, and states that cremation as well as inhumation was in use, for 'cinerary urns with the calcined bones of those who were burnt in the funeral pyre, and the skeletons of those who were consigned to the ground unburnt, are found side by side.'

PETERBOROUGH itself has furnished some Anglo-Saxon relics, including the remains of a bucket.

In the matter of square mileage the present basin of the Bedfordshire Ouse comes fifth in rank of the river basins of Great Britain, and affluents now bring their waters to it from the centre of East Anglia as well as from the vicinity of the Oxfordshire Cherwell and from near Saffron Walden in Essex. Immigrants entering the land up the stream in the eastern portion of the Wash[1] might turn up the lateral waterways of the Little Ouse or the Lark into Norfolk and Suffolk as well as follow the Cam southwards or continue towards the west in the direction of Bedford. It is possible that this would account for the resemblances which have been noticed between East Anglian tomb furniture and that found in Mid Anglian cemeteries such as Market Overton, Rutland; and Holdenby, Northants. Suffolk cemeteries are specially abundant on the course of the Lark, and the settlers who used these cannot have been very different from other Anglian immigrants who chose the Nene or the Welland as their port of entry into the land. At FARNDISH in Bedfordshire not far from the Nene at Wellingborough there was discovered a large florid square headed brooch of a pronounced East Anglian type.

Some note has been already taken of certain cemeteries by

[1] The channels are of course altered since Saxon times.

the upper waters of the Ouse that seem to bring the Anglian fashion of cremation to near the border of the West Saxon sphere of influence or even over it. LEIGHTON BUZZARD is one of these, but of far greater importance is KEMPSTON on the Ouse, a couple of miles above Bedford. The cemetery has already been referred to more than once (pp. 192, 622) and is one of the most important in the country. As is the case with many Anglo-Saxon grave fields the site is on a bed of gravel, on the surface of which below the supersoil the bodies were laid, and the working of the gravel in modern times revealed the interments. These were disposed, it will be remembered (p. 166), in every direction, and with the bodies were a number of cinerary urns, Pl. CXXXIV, 6 (p. 499), some containing besides the bones the usual small objects. The Kempston saucer, applied, and small long brooches have been illustrated Pll. XLII, 1; XLVII, 1 (p. 275). That there were clasps seems indicated by the words 'portions of metal, thin plates of bronze, which might have formed the fastening, by way of clasp, of the dress.'[1] A mounted crystal ball[2] with one or two examples of inlaying seems to show a connection with the south, for such objects belong specially to Kent, but on the other hand the equal armed fibula, Pl. XXXVII, 7 (p. 247), connects the cemetery with Cambridgeshire where two finer examples of the same rare type have been found (p. 561 f.). The occurrence of a very early bronze fibula of a pre-Teutonic pattern, Pl. CLV, 11 (p. 563), is of course in itself an early indication, and we have to remember the equally early bronze brooch, on the same plate, No. 12, that came to light with Saxon objects at Basset Down, Wilts, where the spoon of Roman pattern and the small triple beads show that the cemetery may have been in use at an early date. Other cemeteries in this part, SANDY, TODDINGTON, FARNDISH, in Bedfordshire, have been already noticed (p. 636) in relation to the sites in the West Saxon area across the watershed.

[1] *Ass. Soc. Reports*, 1864, p. 270. [2] ibid., pl. II, 8.

The Cambridgeshire cemeteries lie for the most part in the neighbourhood of the county town, and fruitful discoveries have been made at ORWELL, HASLINGFIELD, BARRINGTON, HAUXTON, LITTLE WILBRAHAM, GIRTON, places that lie on different sides of Cambridge within a radius of half a dozen miles, while LINTON HEATH, SOHAM, and ELY are a little further off on the eastern side. At the last named place the *Gentleman's Magazine*, of 1766, p. 118 *f.*, describes the discovery of a warrior's grave, with sword, spear and shield and by the head a 'great urn,' and one would have been tempted to see in him one of the early raiders, but he is given away by the fact that a claw glass goblet was found with him. The site of CAMBRIDGE[1] itself has been remarkably prolific, and the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's *Communications* contain several notices of finds in different parts of the urban area, e.g., in vol. XVI, 1912, p. 122, there is a note of the discovery of an urn with burnt bones in company with Anglo-Saxon relics. Important discoveries were made in 1888 and later on the cricket ground belonging to St. John's College. The records of one set of investigations, those at LITTLE WILBRAHAM, have been embodied in the well known work, the Hon. R. C. Neville's *Saxon Obsequies*,[2] and the objects found are in great part in the private collection at Audley End of Lord Braybrooke, who kindly allowed the writer to examine and photograph them. The proceeds of other Cambridgeshire cemeteries are scattered, but a large body of examples from the various sites are displayed in the new Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge, and reports of many of the discoveries are to be found in the *Communications* of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

At LITTLE WILBRAHAM, where the cemetery was on a hill about 100 ft. high facing the south, 188 inhumed bodies were disinterred only 24 of which were unaccompanied by any deposit. More than 120 urns were also counted and 83

[1] For Cambridge see also (p. 787). [2] London, 1852.

were preserved, most of them containing burnt human bones and a considerable number of small objects of the usual kind with the addition of some fibulae, knives, keys, etc. Cremation side by side with inhumation was therefore fully established. There was one case of the burial of a horse, with its iron bit, by the side of the rider. There was nothing specially remarkable about the weapons and vessels, but it is noteworthy that some instances are given where several beads, of which, in all, the large number of 1176 made their appearance, were found in the same grave as a warrior's arms. The single large bead found with a sword (p. 224 f.) in graves 44, 96, 151 is of course another matter. Clasps formed a feature of the finds and there were 24 reckoned in the inventory, mostly of the simpler patterns illustrated Pl. LXXVIII, 1 to 5 (p. 363); a rich collection of girdle hangers, many in pairs, also came to light.

The fibulae were the most interesting part of the find and fill ten plates in the above-named publication. Apart from a few disc brooches, one a Kentish inlaid one of the middle third of VI, one or two quoit and annular ones, a couple of applied (no saucer brooches were found) and two exceptional specimens to be presently noticed, the fibulae were mostly of the 'long' kind, though the ubiquitous florid square headed brooch was also represented. The 'long' fibulae included small long brooches of the usual patterns, trefoil headed brooches, etc., but the collection was especially strong in the genuine cruciform type in the different stages of development which have been followed in a previous chapter (p. 258 f.), including the late rather florid stage represented by the example Pl. XLV, 2 (p. 269). Most of them have the side knobs fixed but one or two were of the earlier form with detached side knobs. The Cambridgeshire cemeteries generally like those of the greater part of East Anglia are strong in the cruciform brooch, which as we have seen (p. 598) just overflows into Essex, but not into the West Saxon regions of

Herts, Bucks and Oxon. A very early example with specially narrow head plate and detached side knobs came from the St. John's College Cricket Field explorations at CAMBRIDGE.[1] This was in part a cremation cemetery and produced early objects, though late ones were also found, such as the applied brooch with naturalistic animals, Pll. LXIII, 5 ; V, 11 (p. 106), a late date for which is indicated by a buckle with triangular chape of the Kentish pattern found with it in a woman's grave.[2] The comparatively advanced type of most of the examples at Little Wilbraham looks towards an average date for the cemetery of the latter half of VI, but two objects at least were found whose proper habitat is V. These are a round headed fibula of the radiating pattern, which was probably imported, and the handsome equal armed fibula of Hanoverian type shown Pl. CLIV, 4 (p. 561). With this must be compared the still finer example from HASLINGFIELD, Pl. CLIV, 5. The significance of the appearance here and at Kempston of these rare objects has already been signalized (p. 561 f.).

Another radiating fibula was found in the cemetery on LINTON HEATH close to the Bartlow Hills on the very border of Essex. This was also excavated by the Hon. R. C. Neville, who contributed an account of it to the Archaeological Institute in 1854.[3] He remarks upon its similarity to Little Wilbraham but emphasizes the remarkable difference that here, though urns were found, 'no burnt human bones, bronze tweezers, bone combs, or other small objects were contained in the vases.' There were 104 skeletons with parts of others, and to find no trace of cremation in a comparatively large cemetery of this region is not a little remarkable. It was moreover to all appearance an earlier cemetery than that at Little Wilbraham, and belonged to the first half of VI, and this makes the absence of cremation all the more notable. LINTON HEATH produced saucer and applied fibulae and an

[1] For Cambridge see also (p. 785).

[2] *Archaeologia*, LXIII, 191.

[3] *Arch. Journ.*, XI, 95.

abundant assortment of large square headed and smaller cruciform fibulae of the types figured on the plates of *Saxon Obsequies*. A unicum was the spur sketched Fig. 16 (p. 421). It is a noteworthy fact that a cemetery well stored with fibulae of this pronounced Anglian type should be found close to the borders of Essex where objects of the kind are only represented by one or two casual discoveries. The occurrence at CHESTERFORD on the northern limit of Essex of a late cruciform fibula closely resembling one found over the border at BARRINGTON, Cambs, Pl. XLV, 5, 7 (p. 269) is an accident that brings out into more marked prominence the difference between Cambridgeshire and Essex, the Anglian and the East Saxon realms.

It is unfortunate that there is no connected account of the various explorations of the last named cemetery, where so many interesting objects have from time to time come to light. On the Map, No. VII (p. 767), BARRINGTON is underscored with a broken line implying some doubt as to the presence of cremation. The facts are that in *Coll. Ant.*, VI, 135, there is a report on the excavation of 30 graves in 1861 with no sign of cremation. In vol. II of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's *Communications*, at p. 7, Professor Babington reported on discoveries of about the same time on the site where the interments were estimated at about 200, but nothing is said about cremation; and there is the same silence in the case of the Notes by the Rev. J. W. E. Conybeare, communicated to vol. X of the *Communications*, p. 434, on objects found there between 1873 and 1898. On the other hand, in vol. V of the same publication, an 'Account of the Excavation of an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Barrington, Cambridgeshire,' by that careful antiquary the late Walter K. Foster, F.S.A., contains the words 'in this cemetery cremation seems to have been quite the exception, very few cinerary urns having been found.' A Barrington publication would be a welcome addition to our knowledge of Mid Anglian antiquities.

EAST ANGLIA

It is not easy to reconcile the apparent solidarity of the East Anglian kingdom, which evidently formed a distinct political entity, with any plausible theory of the actual settlement. From the geographical point of view we cannot point to any one gate of entry through which a homogeneous body of invaders can have passed to spread themselves ultimately over the whole region. North-west Suffolk seems to proclaim on the evidence of its pagan cemeteries that it was colonized from the side of the Wash along the courses of the Little Ouse and the Lark; while quite on the other side of the country direct access could be gained up the inlets of the Yare, the Waveney, the Ore, the Deben, and finally the Orwell, where at IPSWICH an extensive cemetery has actually been found just at the head of the estuary. At Ipswich the tomb furniture differed in some remarkable respects from that found in other parts of East Anglia, though, as we have already seen, it bore no resemblance to that of the neighbouring kingdom of Essex (p. 597 f.). Ipswich however apart, there exists what Mr. Reginald Smith has called 'the general uniformity of East Anglian burial grounds' suggesting 'a common origin for the population of the 6th century, different from that of the Saxon occupants of Essex and the Thames valley, though not far removed from that of the Midland Angles.'[1] If other cemeteries of the same character as that at Ipswich existed along the eastern coast there would be strong grounds for holding that the two sides of the district had been colonized independently, but the other coastal discoveries have been rather of a casual kind, producing in many cases obviously late and perhaps imported objects, so that general conclusions bearing upon the original settlement cannot easily be drawn. Ipswich must in the meantime remain exceptional,

[1] *Victoria History*, Suffolk, I, 333.

and the other East Anglian sites be regarded as on the whole of uniform character.

Notice has already been taken (p. 598) of the fact that the IPSWICH cemetery was wanting in clasps and in cruciform brooches, while Kentish objects and those suggesting a connection with the South were in evidence. It was to all seeming a pagan cemetery of VI, in which inhumation prevailed but cremation was represented, and it can hardly be held to represent the first landing of the Teutonic immigrants, and still less a settlement on the 'Saxon Shore' before the orthodox era of the conquest.[1] If coins of Marcus Aurelius and of Faustina of about 160 A.D. made their appearance, these are not uncommon finds at Ipswich, and the pieces may have been picked up and appropriated by the settlers. There is no reason to suppose that they brought them to this country as current coins.

The bronze buckle with oval chape, figured Pl. LXXI, 6 (p. 349), is remarkable; there was a good collection of glass which is a southern feature, and the beads were very numerous. Among the 159 interments no swords were found but the spears numbered nearly 50, the umbos about a score, and a couple of these were of the conical form. There was one axe head and this was of the 'socketed' kind in which the handle is inserted into the iron as into a sheath. Among the ornaments, square headed brooches of the larger kind but of sober patterns were most conspicuous, and the round disc on the extrados of the bow was a feature, Pl. LXV, 4 (p. 336). Eight specimens made their appearance and it is noteworthy that one of these was found in situ with the foot pointing upwards, and this lay in the centre of the breast. Miss Layard superintended the excavations in 1906 and reported on the results,[2]

[1] It may be repeated here that there is no support from the side of archaeology for the idea that the portion of England called the 'Saxon Shore' was colonized by early Teutonic settlers before the time of the migrations proper (pp. 577, 674).

[2] *Archaeologia*, LX, 325. See also *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XXI, 242.

and her remarks on the position of the fibulae in relation to the bodies have been already referred to (p. 382).

With Ipswich may be compared a large probably mixed cemetery on the other side of the county by the river Lark. The site is WEST STOW HEATH, where about 100 bodies were disinterred about the middle of the last century, with abundant tomb furniture that is described and illustrated in the *Proceedings of the Bury and West Suffolk Archaeological Institute*, vol. I. There is a good summary in the *Victoria History*, Suffolk, I, 338 f. A few miles further down the Lark is another cemetery at WARREN HILL near Mildenhall and there, as on other sites in the vicinity such as MILDENHALL, ICKLINGHAM, LAKENHEATH, EXNING, LACKFORD, TUDDENHAM, abundant relics have been found. Some of these cemeteries may have been like the Ipswich one partly cremation, but inhumation as a rule decidedly prevailed. The prevailing form of brooch in this region is the cruciform, which occurs in the simple early three knobbed variety, and also in more ornate forms that carry us towards the latter part of VI. A fine example of the ornate type, that has not yet degenerated into the flat sprawling forms which are the final stage of development of the species, is illustrated Pl. XLV, 1 (p. 269). It was found at West Stow Heath and is at the Moyses Hall Museum, Bury St. Edmunds. The simpler brooches are of more importance chronologically, as some of them with the detached side knobs look towards V and show that this particular part of the county was not only abundantly peopled but received settlers at an early date. Pl. XL, 4 (p. 259) is one of these very early Suffolk pieces, and Pl. XLIII, 2, from EXNING is more advanced but still has the detached knobs. One technical detail distinguishes the long brooches of this region and is quite an East Anglian speciality, this is the use of enamel, of the champlevé kind. An example is seen in the MILDENHALL piece in Mr. S. G. Fenton's collection, Pl. XLI, 7 (p. 268) where the sunk rings on the head plate and the top

of the foot are filled with coloured vitreous pastes. Enrichment of the kind on long fibulae will not be observed in any other Anglo-Saxon region, though, as we have seen, other uses for enamel are found occasionally in all parts and at all our periods. The enamelled bronze scutcheons for the suspended bowls will always be borne in mind, and Mildenhall has furnished fine examples of these to the Museum at Cambridge. Clasps are also a feature of the tomb inventories of this prolific region, and if it be linked by these and by the forms of the fibulae to Mid Anglia, the use of enamel on the long brooches is a striking point of difference. The remarkable and probably early 'swastika' brooch from Mildenhall is figured Pl. XLVIII, 3 (p. 279).

On the other side of Thetford from Mildenhall, and across the Norfolk border, we find another important inhumation cemetery at KENNINGHALL, where so far as is known cremation was not practised at all. Part of the objects recovered are in the British Museum, and one of the large severely designed square headed fibulae discussed (p. 334 f.) passed thither from the site, Pl. LXIV, 2, and was accompanied by a spiral wire clasp of the kind illustrated from Leicestershire, Pl. LXXVI, 5. Florid cruciform fibulae of a later type than the piece just mentioned also occurred, as well as examples of the normal three knobbed kind both in its earlier shape with detached knobs and in its later developments. Pl. CLVII exhibits a case with a selection of Kenninghall objects in the Fitch Room in the Museum at Norwich, where these cruciform brooches are fully in evidence. There was also found an applique in the form of a fish, similar to the Suffolk example shown Pl. XXIV, 1 (p. 202) and to one discovered at Kempston.

In the extreme north of East Anglia cemeteries, mixed, but for the most part presenting inhumation, were opened long ago at HOLKHAM and quite recently in HUNSTANTON PARK, where interesting discoveries have been made. At SPORLE,



OBJECTS FROM KENNINGHALL, NORFOLK

near Swaffham, in an inhumation cemetery some long brooches and girdle hangers came to light. Akerman figures three of the brooches, *Pagan Saxondom*, pll. XXXIV, XXXIX, XL, and one half of a pair of girdle hangers, a good specimen with ornamentation all over the expanded end, is figured in the Norwich volume of the Archaeological Institute, p. xxvi.

On numerous sites alike in Norfolk and in Suffolk, a pretty complete list of which will be found in the *Victoria History*, urns of the characteristic 'Anglian' form and ornamentation have been discovered with burnt bones actually within them and in many cases with fragmentary objects that represent the tomb furniture which belongs to the epoch. There are extensive urn cemeteries and also sporadic finds. In 1857[1] and again in 1891[2] urns in considerable numbers were found on two sites near CASTLE ACRE. They were irregularly placed and at so shallow a depth that the ploughshare had in many cases mutilated or destroyed them. They were 'evidently made of the sandy clay of the district,' and sometimes had rough stones laid across the mouth as covers. Within the urns, besides cremated bones, there were at times a few small objects, such as beads, portions of combs, bone counters or draughtsmen, fragments of glass vessels, and above all some minute iron shears and tweezers of bronze together with some bronze needles. On these minute implements, which are rare in this country though much in evidence in some of the Museums of North Germany, objects in which so often resemble our own, something has already been said (p. 393), see Pl. LXXXVII (p. 391).

The cremation urns of Norfolk have a special interest of a literary kind, as some of them inspired Sir Thomas Browne's famous treatise entitled *Hydriotaphia, Urne-Buriall, or a Discourse of the Sepulchral Urnes lately found in Norfolk*. In this the eloquent seventeenth century moralist writes at large on

[1] *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd Ser., IV, 172, report by G. A. Carthew, F.S.A.

[2] *Norfolk Archaeology*, XII, 100.

the subject of mortality and introduces some interesting paragraphs on the special objects that furnish him with a text—the 'sad and sepulchral Pitchers, . . . silently expressing old mortality, the ruines of forgotten times.' At WALSINGHAM forty or fifty had been dug up just before the time of his writing, 1658, and apart from the bones in them 'with fresh impressions of their combustion,' he notes the presence of 'extraneous substances' such as combs, 'peeces of small boxes,' 'long brasse plates overwrought like the handles of neat implements' (long fibulae), 'brazen nippers to pull away hair,' 'a kind of *Opale* yet maintaining a blewish colour' (a glass bead). An acute observation is also made to the effect that 'near the same plot of ground, for about six yards compasse were digged up coals and incinerated substances, which begat conjecture that this was the *Ustrina* or place of burning their bodies.'[1] He notices too the grains of mica in the clay, 'some of these Urnes were thought to have been silvered over, from sparklings in several pots, with small Tinsel parcels,' and it is curious that a recent writer[2] makes this a reason for thinking that some of the pots were not of East Anglian make but imported as 'there are larger flakes of mica in the ware than are found in any of the clays of the district.'

There are characteristic urns in the Norwich Museum from CASTLE ACRE,[3] MARKSHALL close to the Roman camp at Caister south of Norwich,[4] PENSTHORPE near Fakenham[4] Pl. CXXXIII, 4 (p. 497), SEDGEFORD near Hunstanton.[4] From SHROPHAM between Norwich and Thetford comes the handsome urn in the British Museum, Pl. CXXXII, 2, which was

[1] *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, ed. Charles Sayle, Edinburgh, 1907, III, 104 f.

[2] Mr. M'Kenny Hughes on 'The Early Potter's Art in Britain,' in *Arch. Journ.*, LIX, 231.

[3] *Norfolk Archaeology*, XII, 100.

[4] References in the *Catalogue of Antiquities*, Norwich Castle Museum, 1909, p. 51 f.

probably cinerary. Urns with bones in them were found hard by at HARGHAM. J. Y. Akerman in his *Pagan Saxondom* illustrates on his pl. XXII a cinerary urn with its contents from EYE in Suffolk, now in the British Museum. With the burnt bones there were a comb, a small pair of iron shears 2¾ in. long, tweezers, and a curved iron knife with handle in the form of a loop. REDGRAVE near Diss close to the border between Suffolk and Norfolk is the place of origin of the urn at Bury St. Edmunds, Pl. CXXXVI, 8 (p. 501). From FAKENHAM came a fine urn in the Ipswich Museum, and there was other evidence of cremation on the site. The finds at SNAPE have been already noticed (p. 590). Close by NORTH ELMHAM cremation urns were discovered in XVIII.

The above are only a few out of many examples alike of inhumation cemeteries, of mixed ones, and of cremation burials, which might be enumerated from this prolific area. The region is furthermore remarkable for the number of isolated finds of interest that have come to light sporadically and not as a rule obviously connected with an interment. One or two have already been figured in the plates. For example, the Wilton pendant, Pl. CXL, 1, 2 (p. 509) is only one of several jewels of East Anglian provenance, some of which have been enumerated in the paragraphs devoted to this class of objects (p. 539 f.). Mr. Fenton's 'swastika' brooch, Pl. XLVIII, 3 (p. 279), which is an early object, and the triangular fibula from LAKENHEATH, a late one (Pl. XLVIII, 4), are notable 'unica.' On an early plate were figured two very interesting bronze objects of a somewhat puzzling kind, Pl. IX, 1, 4 (p. 103), from the prolific corner of Suffolk between the Lark and the Brandon. A brooch shaped like a bee reminding us of Hungarian models was found somewhere in Suffolk.[1] It is impossible however here to signalize a tithe of the objects worth noting in East Anglia, which is in truth one of the most prolific regions in the whole country. As regards

[1] *Victoria History*, Suffolk, I, 349.

the chronology of the cemeteries, over and above the prevalence of cremation in the area there are early indications in the tomb furniture, and the faceted bronze disc of the romanizing kind, Pl. CLII, 4 (p. 558), must not be forgotten. There are sufficient objects of an early character found in the region to justify the suggestion supported by the story from Procopius, quoted (p. 764 f.), that East Anglia was first settled before the end of V.

THE SETTLEMENTS OF THE LINDISWARAS

Students of Anglo-Saxon architecture know Lincolnshire as the most prolific of all the English counties in monuments representing the style, and it might be expected to provide corresponding material from the earlier period. This is not however the case, and the abundant Saxon churches, all it must be pointed out of a comparatively late period, only serve to make more apparent the paucity of pagan Saxon cemeteries. One of these is however of the very first importance, but its site, SLEAFORD, in the low lying southern part of the county, seems to bring it more naturally into connection with the Gyrwas of the fen country than with the 'Lindisfari' of Bede who, as their name implies, were the inhabitants of the larger and more northerly part of the county still called 'Lindsey.' The old appellation of Lincoln, Lindum Colonia, gives of course the etymology. This region belonged to Northumbria in the time of Edwin, but the Lindisfari had once princes of their own and a passage in Bede indicates that they possessed some independent local feeling.[1] The discoveries, such as they are, that have been made in the northern portion of the county may certainly be held to represent this section of the invaders.

On the question how they entered it, the following may be quoted from the *Victoria History*.[2] 'The English conquest of

[1] *Bedae Opera Historica*, ed. Plummer, II, 108. [2] Lincolnshire, II, 246.

Lincolnshire can only be stated as a fact; it cannot be described, for all details are lacking. On a coast fringed with dangerous sands there was little risk of any landing in force betwixt Boston Deeps or Wainfleet and Tetney Haven' (at the mouth of the Humber) 'and we may reasonably suppose that at these places the invaders entered. Though they were mainly Anglians in race, an admixture of Frisians has been inferred from certain place names.' There is a Friesthorpe north-west from Lincoln and Frieston, Friskney and Firsby between Boston and Wainfleet. The Witham, discharging into the Wash by Boston, would lead by low lying lands to Lincoln hill and then in a curious southward curve to near the Trent at Newark. Lincoln itself has furnished provokingly little Anglo-Saxon material to place beside its Roman remains, and the facts here are the same as those which meet us on other Roman sites such as Canterbury and London, on all of which sites, save only York and perhaps Colchester and Leicester, continuity between Roman and Saxon civilization is hardly to be discerned (p. 137 f.). Lincoln and its neighbourhood make up for this dearth of early remains, it should be said, by furnishing some excellent weapons of the Danish period that will subsequently be noticed.

At a point a short distance up its valley the Witham receives from the south-west a tributary the Slea, and on this, at SLEAFORD, we find the most prolific of all the Lincolnshire sites, and one of the most remarkable cemeteries in the whole country. Peculiarities of the cemetery and its furniture have already formed the subject of comment (pp. 131, 145, 154, 364, 383, 435, etc.) and it must be said that if these represent the customs of the Gyrwas, should there not be more resemblance between the phenomena at Sleaford and those of Woodstone on the Nene, opposite Peterborough which Bede tells us was in the country of the Gyrwas?

There were of course represented at Woodstone many of the objects found at Sleaford, but this general resemblance runs

through the cemeteries of all this region, whereas the *peculiarities* of Sleaford, such as the crouching position of the skeletons, the use of cists, the festoon-like arrangement of the beads, the placing of the brooches, have not been signalized at Woodstone.

The Sleaford cemetery, the whole number of interments in which were reckoned at about 600, was well described by Mr. G. W. Thomas in vol. L of *Archaeologia*, and he states that he would never allow any excavation beyond a foot in depth without his presence, and no bone or relic of any description to be removed from its site except by his own hands. It was partly a cremation cemetery, for there were six cases of the burning of the body and urns are described containing a quart or a pint of calcined bones and ashes. In grave 183, for example, was a 'stone cist containing a small urn with carbonaceous earth, fragments of bone, and stains of bronze and iron among the ashes.' No sword appeared, but there were 48 spear heads or ferules and 14 shield bosses in the 242 graves inventorized. One umbo was of a tall shape like that of the early Herpaly boss at Budapest figured Pl. LIII, 10 (p. 305). The exceptionally large bucket has been noticed (p. 463), and there was a large bronze bowl with loops for suspension in the form of heads of swans or serpents, cf. Pl. CXV, 2 (p. 474). The curious arrangement on the person of the fibulae and the beads has been referred to (pp. 383, 435).

Special features in the tomb inventory were the very numerous clasps (p. 362 f.), the girdle hangers which were abundant and ornate and were sometimes connected with ivory rings, a spiral wire clasp in grave 121 like Pl. LXXVI, 5, from Leicestershire (p. 359), and more particularly the fibulae. We are reminded in these of the wealth in different forms of the brooch which was a feature in the Kentish cemetery at Bifrons, for many types are represented. The large florid square headed or cruciform is found here as in so many

cemeteries of the Mid Anglian region, with the small long brooch and the true cruciform, which we should also expect to find at home here. Annular and penannular brooches were much in evidence and of the latter there were 19 examples. Besides these more normal types there were exceptional pieces, such as a Romano-British enamelled brooch, a round headed radiating one, an S shaped fibula with two animals' heads, one saucer brooch with a central stud, an iron flat annular brooch, a ring made of the tine of a deer's horn that may have served as a brooch like the Londesborough piece, Pl. LI, 5 (p. 287), and a fibula marked with the swastika, like Pl. XLVIII, 3, 5, 6 (p. 279). The undoubtedly early objects found on the site make it probable that the settlement at Sleaford is an early one and that the cemetery was in use from about the end of V.

Next to Sleaford the Lincolnshire site that has made the most interesting contribution to our subject is the wold site of SEARBY to the north of Caistor, and here again early objects suggesting V have been found. A pin with 'Klapperschmuck,' after the pattern of that from Leagrave, Beds, Pl. LXXX, 2 (p. 369), was found in company with a radiating round headed fibula ending below in a horse's head, a recognized V form.[1] These are in the British Museum together with some fine girdle hangers figured Pl. XC, 2 (p. 397). Still better is a pair from the site in the Lincoln Museum with the small rings which suggest that objects were really hung from them, Fig. 13 (p. 399). Altogether Sleaford and Searby have contributed, with Little Wilbraham, about the best specimens of this particular product in the country. Searby also was prolific in round and flat sectioned annular brooches, one of the former, at Lincoln, has two animals' heads that resemble what we have found in Kent and Yorkshire, Pl. LI (p. 287). There were also clasps, small long brooches, beads, etc., and—a rare object—

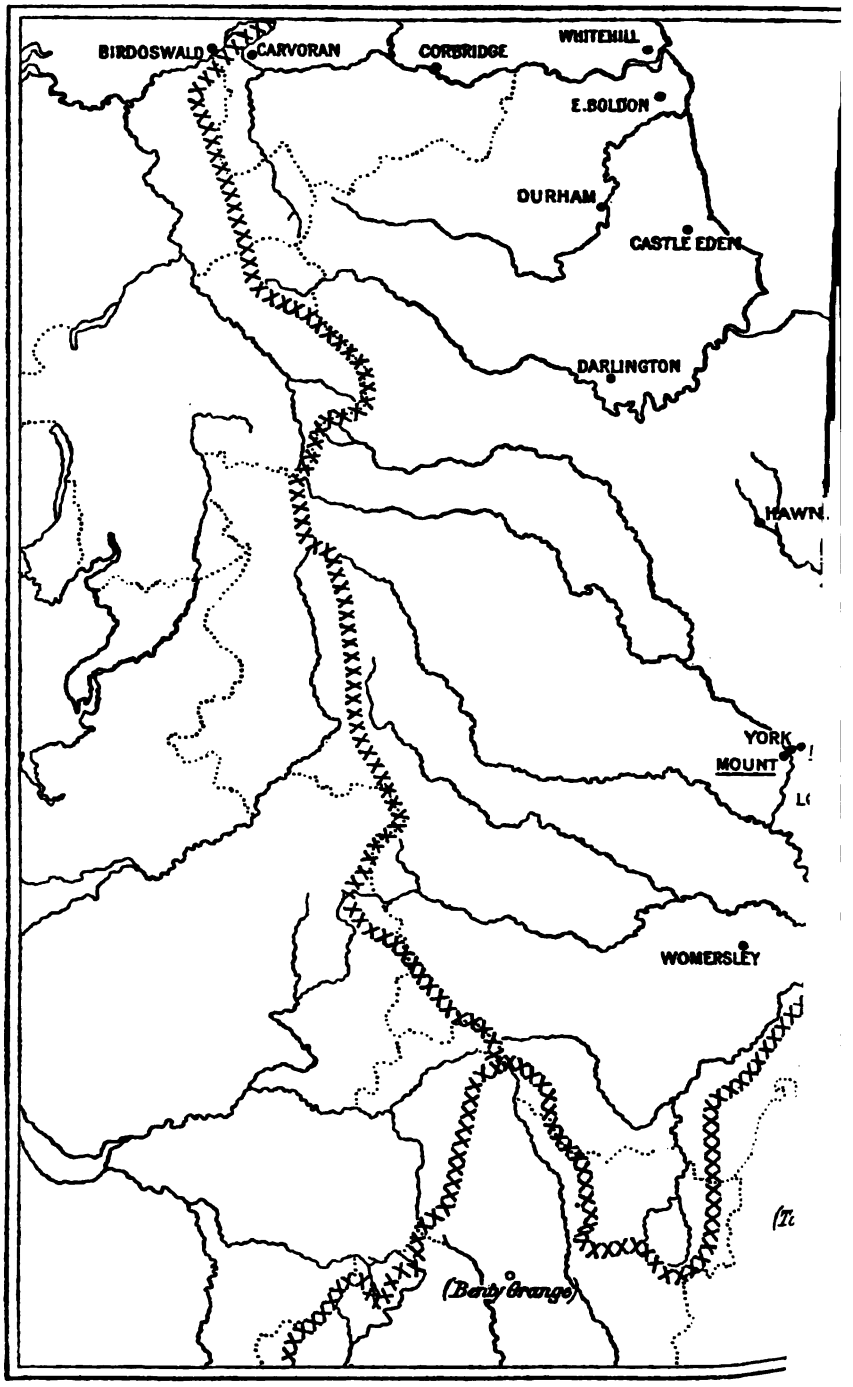
[1] The radiating fibulae from Woodstone and from Sleaford will be remembered.

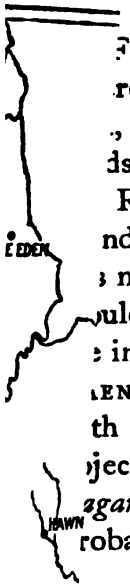
a bone die of parallelepiped form marked with numbers. The fact is that there is more resemblance between Sleaford and Searby than between Sleaford and Woodstone, so that the Gyrwas theory noticed above (p. 797) finds no support in the finds.

CAISTOR has gifted to the Lincoln Museum a fine specimen of the bronze bowl for suspension with two rings and scutcheons still in position, and a good set of the ornate inlaid beads that are rather a late indication.

The discovery of a cemetery, apparently of pure cremation, in the parish of KIRTON-IN-LINDSEY, was described in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. XIV, by the Rev. Edward Trollope, whose name is well known in connection with Lincolnshire antiquities. In 1856 in operations of road-making a cut was driven 'through a slightly rising mound, situated on a high ridge of ground running north and south through the greater part of the county called the "Cliff,"' and 50 to 60 urns were found all filled with bones. Unfortunately most of them were broken up forthwith in search for gold, but half a dozen were saved, and the British Museum has some specimens. They are of the Anglian type, and combs, tweezers, etc., were duly found in them amidst the bones. This is an interesting discovery on account of the site, which is near the edge of the oolitic escarpment under which nestle so many ancient villages. Is it possible that the cemeteries belonging to these villages, so many of which have Anglo-Saxon churches, were situated on the high ground above, and that Kirton-in-Lindsey represents one of them? Further to the south along the 'Cliff' between Lincoln and Grantham, by the Roman road there called HIGH DYKE, in the parish of WELBOURN, finds are recorded that include a large Anglo-Saxon square headed fibula of the plain type but of inferior style, and a pair of clasps, now at Alnwick Castle Museum. These may be similarly explained. They are figured Pll. LXIV, 3 (p. 335); LXXVIII, 1 (p. 363).

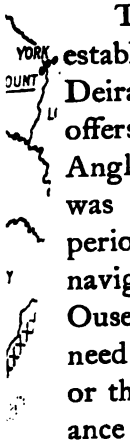
MAP
VIII
facing p. 801.





Finds of a more or less sporadic kind are to be noted from rent parts of the county. QUARRINGTON close to Slea-, CANDLESBY by Firsby on the south-eastern edge of the ds, FLIXBOROUGH by the Trent, may be mentioned. At Roman site of ANCASTER an Anglian cinerary urn was nd with burnt bones in it and part of a bone comb, and s may be held a piece of evidence in favour of continuity in ulchral usages between Roman and Saxon. Lastly there is interesting find, evidently of a late epoch in a tumulus at ENBY to the north of Lincoln from which came the plaque th animal ornament figured Pl. LXIII, 3 (p. 329). The jects discovered are illustrated by Akerman on plate xv of *agan Saxondom*, and are in the British Museum. They robably date from the first half of VII.

DEIRA AND BERNICIA



The geographical conditions are quite favourable for the establishment of an Anglian principality at an early date in Deira with its centre at York, for the stream of the Ouse offers an open waterway to the northern capital. If bodies of Anglian immigrants found their way in V up the Trent there was nothing to prevent others from ascending at the same period the Ouse, which was for a long distance quite equally navigable. In XI the fleet of Harold Hardrada ascended the Ouse with a very large number of ships as far as Riccall.[1] We need not attach much importance in themselves to the traditions or theories of Celtic writers, but at any rate they are in accordance with natural likelihood and fit not only the geographical but also the archaeological facts of the situation.

It is of course not easy to fix the date of cremation cemeteries for the tomb furniture is generally of the scantiest description, but all that we know about the cremation burials

[1] Flor. Wig., ad ann. 1066.

in the immediate vicinity of York goes to indicate an early epoch. On the south-west of the city the Roman road from Tadcaster approaches it over a sort of raised ridge of gravel known as 'THE MOUNT,' and here Anglian cinerary urns were found in such close conjunction with Roman funereal objects that there is no doubt about the continuous use by the settlers of the older cemetery.[1] Several of these urns are in the Museum of the Philosophical Society at York, and together with the shears found in one of these urns, Pl. LXXXV, 1 on the left, there came to light a coin of Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus who died at York in 211 A.D. The coin must have been found and treasured as a curiosity. At the Mount too was found the fine and well preserved glass bowl figured Pl. CXXV, 3 (p. 485). The fact that an almost exact replica of it came to light in North Germany where the cemeteries rule earlier than ours suggests a date perhaps in V.

On the other side of the city about a mile from its centre in the direction of Malton we come upon another cremation cemetery at HEWORTH. The site is a gravel ridge like the Mount raised a little above the water meadows, and here a pure cremation burial ground yielded up about 200 urns that had been arranged in regular rows. About 40 are exhibited in the York Museum, and there are also an immense number of pieces not put together, in the Museum magazine. One of the urns has been figured on Pl. CXXXV. They are of a pronounced Anglian type, and lend themselves admirably to comparison with the urns from the Hanoverian-Dutch districts on the Continent. A few of the usual small objects were found in them, and among these were the tweezers figured on the right hand side of No. 1 on Pl. LXXXV (p. 391). These are beautifully finished and are faceted quite in the Roman fashion so that a V date would suit them very well. They have evidently not been in connection with the fire. On the whole these cremation burials at York present an early aspect

[1] *Archaeologia*, XLII, 433.

and bear out the historical indications of an early seizure of the old Roman military capital.

Another purely cremation cemetery occurred at SANCTON near Market Weighton, not far from a distinct burying ground where inhumation was in use. The two have to be kept separate. Here again the urns, some of which are in the Ashmolean and others at Hull,[1] were an interesting set, bold in design and ornament, and the cemetery was noteworthy for the amount of tomb furniture found in the urns, sometimes in a calcined condition and at other times well preserved. Long brooches, bronze clasps, shears, tweezers, beads, etc., may be singled out. A collection of half-fused objects from these urns is to be seen in the Ashmolean.

At SANCTON however we are on the edge of the wold district the numerous burials in which will presently be noticed. Before we come to these notice may be taken of a quite recent discovery of an inhumation cemetery on the sea coast at HORNSEA.[2] In the summer of 1913 some slight excavations connected with the new Hydropathic at Hornsea revealed a dozen inhumed skeletons, laid in a row with most of the feet pointing to the north. There were however in the dozen three instances of contracted burial, a fashion in interment rather common in Yorkshire. No cremation urns appeared, but there was a goodly array of tomb furniture, many of the objects being of a fairly early type. The cruciform fibula was specially in evidence, and it is curious that with this small number of a dozen skeletons lying close together there should be differences among the fibulae from adjacent graves which might at first sight suggest marked differences of date. The cruciform brooches Pl. XLIII, 1, 3 and Pl. XLV, 3, together with a specimen without wings below the bow but with three fixed knobs, were all found on skeletons in this same short row of

[1] *Hull Museum Publications*, Nos. 66, 67.

[2] An Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Hornsea, by T. Sheppard, F.G.S., in *Transactions of the Hull Scientific and Field Naturalists' Club*, vol. IV, pt. V, 1913.

interments to all appearance about contemporary. In the two first mentioned the presence of the wings beneath the bow neutralizes as chronological evidence the absence of side knobs, and this last is thereby shown to be in itself no absolute criterion of early date. The whole four brooches probably belong to the middle or latter half of VI. Wrist clasps were present and so too were annular and quoit brooches. The bronze bell has been noticed, Pl. XCVIII, 1 (p. 415).

Inhumation burials at LONDESBOROUGH, a little north of Market Weighton and near the wold country, opened at various times from 1870 to 1895, have produced a good assortment of objects, especially in the form of cruciform fibulae and clasps of a handsome kind resembling those from Bifrons and Lewes, Pl. LXXVII, 4, 5 (p. 361), as well as square headed fibulae of an ornate pattern. The Museums at York and at Hull have good examples. From an inhumation burial in the same neighbourhood the Hull Museum was enriched about 1905 with the abundant tomb furniture accompanying a female skeleton in a crouching position,[1] including the singularly fine piece, one of a pair, Pl. XLIV (p. 268). There was a third cruciform fibula, girdle hangers, Pl. XC, 4 (p. 397), clasps, beads, and other objects. The date seems about the same as that of the Hornsea burials.

There now fall to be noticed the large number of burials, mostly of a secondary kind in earlier barrows, on the WOLDS OF THE EAST RIDING. The situation and character of these have already received attention in connection with the general subject of the cemetery (p. 134 f.), and it is only necessary to indicate the most notable objects in the tomb furniture. As these were all inhumation burials the objects are far more numerous than in the case of the cremation cemeteries first reviewed. They are practically all described and figured in Mr. Mortimer's *Forty Years' Researches*, and a large number of the objects found were displayed in this antiquary's private

[1] *Hull Museum Publications*, No. 33.

Museum at Driffield. The valuable collection is now being transferred to the Museum at Hull.

On Aclam Wold which looks towards Castle Howard and Malton some dozen interments near old chalk pits yielded a golden bracteate-like pendant set with garnets now in the British Museum, a fine sword with hilt and pommel of early type and of the great length over all of nearly 40 in., and a curious object in the form of an iron bowl or ladle, 4½ in. deep by 8 in. in diameter, with a handle over 18 in. long, the last 4 in. of which is bent down so as to serve as a rest, enabling the ladle to stand without spilling its contents.

The secondary interments on Painsthorpe Wold, which Canon Greenwell thought were those of the Anglian inhabitants of Kirby Underdale, furnished a bronze ring fibula, one of the little round bronze workboxes of which several have been found in Yorkshire, and some other small objects. The 'Beacon Hill' barrow on Garrowby Wold, a little further to the south, contained a spear head and iron shears, and another barrow a shield. The most important discoveries however on this side of the wolds were made at UNCLEBY close to Kirby Underdale. With about seventy secondary Anglian burials in a British barrow enlarged for the purpose were found amongst other objects two of the round bronze workboxes, for one of which see Pl. XCVI, 4 (p. 411), a ring brooch in which animals' heads occur at each end of the ring beside the hinge of the pin, as in an example at Maidstone, Pl. LI, 11 (p. 287), another such ring brooch of curious section with a garnet en cabochon set in each of the heads, Pl. LI, 7, two bracteate-like pendants of gold ornamented with filigree work, and inlaid, one with a central garnet mounted in Kentish fashion on a button of a white substance, amethyst beads, and other ornaments. A bronze bowl was also found 13¼ in. in diameter. There were no fewer than a dozen whetstones for sharpening tools or weapons, a type of object often met with in Yorkshire but very rare in other parts. No. 5 on

Pl. XCVII shows a specimen. Lastly the weapons included a sword imperfectly preserved, and some scramasaxes, which are rather more common in Yorkshire than elsewhere, see Pl. XXVIII, 7 (p. 227).

Mr. Reginald Smith in the *Victoria History*, Yorkshire, II, 90, notices the curious affinities which some of these objects show with Kentish tomb furniture, and remarks on the absence of the long brooch generally characteristic of the North. The presence of whetstones on the other hand and the position of the bodies, which in most cases were contracted, are non-Kentish traits.

By DRIFFIELD on the other side of the wolds some good tomb furniture was found with secondary burials in tumuli upon low ground near the town. Mr. Mortimer gives the account on p. 271 f. of his book, and illustrates the objects on his plates XCV to CXIV. Shield bosses and spears were in evidence with the usual ornaments in the form of beads (some small triple and multiform ones have an early appearance, pl. CXII), clasps, strap ends, quoit brooches, cruciform brooches of VI types, of which an example in the Sheffield Museum is characteristic. It is J. 93, 629, and is from near Driffield but not actually one of the Mortimer specimens. There was also a badge in the form of a fish, pl. CXII, a bracteate with debased animal ornament, pl. CII, and a near approach to an applied brooch, described on p. 288 as 'a circular fibula, formed of a concave disc of bronze, of more than 1½ inches in diameter, presenting traces of what appeared to be gold foil on the interior surface.' A unicum was what appeared to be a cooking pot, of a flat shape quite unusual and bearing traces of fire on its lower part, pl. XCVIII.

The last of these finds in the wold district are the most interesting of all as they carry with them distinct indications of an early date. The two sites are on the south-eastern limit of the wold country in the direction of Bridlington, at KILHAM and at RUDSTON. From the latter place come two long

CLVIII

facing p. 807

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS



1, 3, are Continental

brooches in the British Museum with detached side knobs and a simple treatment of the horse's head. Typologically they may be placed in V. In respect to Kilham, Mr. Mortimer quotes some sentences from the *Scarborough Repository*[1] for 1824, describing the exploration there of a place that seemed to have been a cemetery. A skeleton was found with feet to the south-east and near it a brass buckle, two pairs of brass clasps, some beads, etc., and 'a fine piece of neatly-worked brass about 5 inches in length and varying in breadth from 1 to 3 inches, with a kind of hook or catch on the nether side.' This last may have been one of three remarkable fibulae found on the site. One, not shown, is a good specimen of the cruciform 'long' brooch in which the side knobs are cast in one piece with the head and may date about 550. Of the other two, one, Pl. CLVIII, 7, is a radiating fibula of V, one of a type common in Merovingian Gaul and possibly for that reason to be regarded as an imported object. The third, Pl. CLV, 7, is almost unique in western European finds, but is of a kind very numerously represented in the district of Russia of which Kiev is the culture-centre. The Museum of that city is full of examples showing the open work characteristic of the type, and some of these are shown Pl. CLV, 8, 9, 10. The occurrence of an example in so distant a region as Yorkshire is a remarkable fact, for the type is very local, and is sought for in vain in the rich repertory of Hungary on the south-west and of the Crimea on the south-east of 'Little Russia.' Baron de Baye has noticed these open work fibulae which he regards as peculiar to the Ukraine[2] region and he derives them from the Gothic fibulae of the Crimea with projecting heads of birds, themselves a modification of the round headed radiating brooches that have their home there. Various examples in the Kiev Museum show the stages of derivation, certain of them being intermediate between the ordinary radiating fibula and

[1] *Forty Years'*, etc., p. 344.

[2] *Les Fibules de l'Époque Barbare spéciales à l'Ukraine*, Caen, 1908.

the open work ones, the influence of which has been transmitted as far as Kilham in Yorkshire.

The Kilham burials furnished also a good assortment of the enriched bronze clasps that are characteristic products of Anglian cemeteries. A sign of early date was the appearance of the small double and multiple-lobed beads which have so often been recognized in early cemeteries alike in the South, the Midland district, and the North.

The most northerly of all the Yorkshire 'finds' is only just to the south of the boundary of Deira. The locality is SALTBURN-ON-SEA in the north-east corner of the county. Here, only a year or two ago there came to light a number of cremated as well as some inhumed burials, accompanied by interesting tomb furniture. The site is on an eminence 300 ft. above the sea which it overlooks at a distance of more than a mile. Here in 1909 and 1910 about forty cremated bodies came to light, the bones being generally though not always collected in cinerary urns that were in general disposed in rows running north and south. With these there was a considerable number of beads, some partly fused and others showing no trace of the action of the fire. Among these beads were some small triplet ones which we have just seen to be a mark of early date. Another object of special interest and also carrying the same suggestion was a 'francisca' or axe head of Frankish type belonging in Gaul to V or VI and found occasionally in the south of England. A large square headed brooch of the florid type common in the northern midlands was found in a mutilated condition, and might be ascribed to a later date than the beads and the 'Francisca,' but a date that would still fall within VI.

Taking the Yorkshire finds of the Anglo-Saxon period as a whole we are struck with the large number of remains from the later Viking or Danish period, a considerable proportion of which were found in and about York itself and are preserved in the Museum of the Philosophical Society by St.

Mary's Abbey. The consideration of these must of course be deferred. Though the extent of the modern county is so great the area in which finds have come to light is circumscribed by the fact that the moors and hills of the West Riding, to the west of the great Roman highway from Doncaster through Tadcaster to Boroughbridge and Catterick, have furnished no sepulchral remains. A few scattered discoveries may here be noted to supplement the account just given of the cemeteries. For example, at HAWNBY to the south of the Cleveland district there was found a specimen of the bronze bowls with attachments for suspension that is of special interest owing to its possession of the three scutcheons ending in hooks complete and in their original positions. They are however not enamelled as is so often elsewhere the case and are only adorned with some punctured dots, Pl. CXVII, 6 (p. 473). A bracteate-like gold pendant of VII with cruciform pattern and garnet inlays in the Sheffield Museum was found at WOMERSLEY near Pontefract. At SEAMER near Scarborough some more examples of garnet inlay on small objects of gold came to light. The Castle Yard at YORK produced another example of the bronze bowl something like the Hawnby one but with scutcheons in the form of birds, Pl. CXV. 2 (p. 474).

We have already seen that in the case of the Teutonic peoples who made themselves masters of Britain cremation was the earlier rite while inhumation gradually came in to take its place, the former custom descending from the north while the latter ascended to meet it from the south. In Yorkshire, as we shall presently see, the rite of cremation was in full use though as a rule not exclusive use. North of the Tees no assured instance of Anglian cremation is known, and this would bear out the view expressed early in this chapter, that Deira, the southern part of Northumbria, was settled earlier than the more northern Bernicia, however much this may have been 'raided' in the earlier epochs of the migration.

It has been noticed already (p. 760 f.) that in Bernicia as compared with Deira finds from the pagan Anglo-Saxon period are extremely rare. North of the Tees there is really only one cemetery worthy of the name, the few other discoveries between the Tees and the Tweed being of a somewhat accidental character, while beyond the Tweed we have seen that discoveries of the pagan period are practically non-existent.

At DARLINGTON a few miles north of the Tees, within the limits of the present town and on comparatively elevated ground there were discovered in 1876 about a dozen skeletons of men, women and children, laid with their feet to the east and accompanied by tomb furniture. Iron swords, spear heads, and shield bosses were in evidence as well as beads and several brooches of different forms. Three spear heads and a cruciform bronze fibula, in the collection of Mr. Edward Wooler of Darlington, are shown Pll. XXXI, 4 (p. 235); CLVIII, 8. The latter is of a VI type, dating about 550 A.D., and the interments were in all probability of the pagan period.

The next most important find in the southern part of Bernicia was one at Hurbuck near Lanchester in County Durham, where a non-sepulchral deposit of iron weapons came to light in 1870. These arms, which are now in the British Museum, are shown by their forms to belong to the Danish period in which connection they will be treated in a subsequent Volume. The fine glass vessel of the 'tear' pattern, shown Pl. CXXIV, was found in connection with an interment at CASTLE EDEN, and in a more northerly part of the county EAST BOLDON was the place of discovery of the small bronze buckle with encrusted chape shown on an enlarged scale Pl. LXXI, 5 (p. 349). Portable objects connected with the burial of St. Cuthbert at Lindisfarne in the last years of VII were found at DURHAM when the tomb to which the body of the saint had been transferred was opened there in 1827. The pectoral cross carried by the saint beneath his ecclesiastical

robes has been already noticed as a specimen of gold and garnet work of the middle or latter half of VII, Pl. CXL, 3 (p. 509). The other objects then brought to light, a small portable altar or rather the covering of one in the form of an embossed silver plate, and the wooden coffin made by the monks of Holy Island for the re-interment of the body of the saint in 698, on which are incised figure designs and inscriptions, are so distinctively Christian that the consideration of them must be deferred. The same of course applies to the world-famous illuminated manuscript, the Gospels of Lindisfarne, as well as to any carved stones that may be located in the same period. The cemetery at Hartlepool with its inscribed tombstones is also purely Christian and probably dates early in VIII.

In Northumberland there may be signalized the appearance at WHITEHILL near Tynemouth of a large late cruciform fibula of the florid type similar to one found at Hornsea in Yorkshire, see Pl. XLV, 6 (p. 269), and on the line of the Roman Wall one or two interesting discoveries have been made. The barbed spear head from CARVORAN, Pl. XXXII, 11 (p. 237), and the trefoil headed fibula found in the Roman station of BIRDOSWALD across the Cumberland border, Pl. XXXVII, 10 (p. 247), have been already mentioned as well as the finds on Coquet Island, Pl. L, 4 (p. 285), that are of dubious date. By far the most important of these casual Anglo-Saxon discoveries was that made in 1908 in the great Roman station Corstopitum, by the modern CORBRIDGE on the Tyne. In the course of the excavations on this site which have been carried on for a number of years, there were discovered a pair of bronze cruciform fibulae of an early type, a string of beads, and two fragments of a small urn of dully polished black ware, with ornamentation which if not very distinctively Anglian is more like Anglian work than anything known in the pre-Saxon period. The fibulae, one of which was shown Pl. XLI, 4 (p. 261), are not an exact pair

for one measures $3\frac{5}{8}$ in. in length the other $3\frac{3}{8}$ in., and the details are somewhat different. Both are cast hollow, the underside of the head plate being concave, and have the catch at the back reaching up from the foot to the bow, while the two side knobs are cast in separate pieces and attached by means of a groove to the head plate. The type is one fixed by Haakon Schetelig in his typological study of the cruciform fibulae to before or about the year 500.

The beads, Pl. CIV, 2 (p. 429), which are small and of early form, coupled with the fact that the fibulae are evidently meant to be worn as a pair, show that the owner of them was a woman, while the presence of the fragments of the urn would in themselves suggest a burial, though no bones nor indications of cremation are reported by the discoverers. The whole find is of such interest that the fibulae and the beads have been shown together Pl. CLVIII, 9, and the fragments of urn added, No. 10, from the engraving in *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XXIII, p. 12.

Finally Pl. CLVIII, 11 figures the urn of Anglian type, 5 in. high, said to have been found at Buchan in Aberdeenshire, mentioned on an earlier page (p. 759). A search among the records of the Scottish Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh has failed to find any contemporary record of its discovery, and of the words on the label affixed to the piece 'Found in Buchan, Aberdeenshire, J. Gordon, 1827,' the date and name of donor are erroneous and should be deleted. All that can be said is that in the *Synopsis of the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1849, at p. 30 there is an entry with the aforesaid label, and the compiler of the *Synopsis*, Sir Daniel Wilson, apparently saw no reason to question the indication of locality. The shape and character of the urn are such that it would easily pass muster in any collection of Anglian vessels.

As a postscript it is worth recording that in January, 1915, in the course of some excavations for military purposes on the

shores of the Firth of Forth, an early grave was broken up. The orientation of it was east and west, and the body had been protected by slabs of laminated sandstone after the manner of some Anglo-Saxon burials (p. 151). The skeleton had disappeared with the exception of some teeth that attested its former presence, and there were found in the grave a dozen glass beads, shown Fig. 30,[1] of a character that would be consistent with an early Anglian origin for the interment. The colours of the beads, which are shown the natural size, are white, pale blue, dark red, and green, and the triple one, the second from the right, is solid, not a blown bead. The centre piece is a portion of the rim of a Roman glass vessel, where

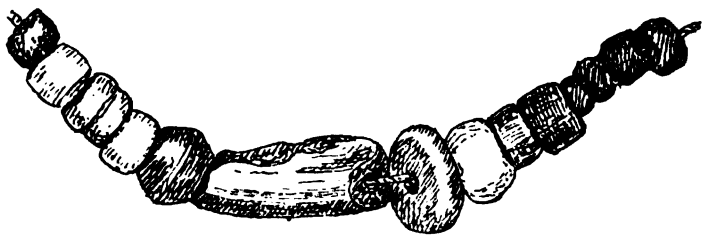


Fig. 29.—Beads found January 1915 in a grave on the shore of the Firth of Forth.

the edge has been turned over leaving a hollow through which the morsel has been strung. It has been ground down to fit it for its purpose. Such an oddity as the central ornament of a string is quite possible in Anglo-Saxon times (p. 432), and the beads can all be paralleled from the plates of beads in Nevile's *Saxon Obsequies*, while they are not unlike the early set found at Corbridge. A burial on this site might conceivably be that of an early Anglian sea-rover (p. 757 f.), but on the other hand the beads are not *distinctively* Anglo-Saxon, and indeed similar ones were found not long ago in a broch in Skye.

[1] Thanks are due to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for permission to describe and figure this quite recent find.

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